CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JANUARY 4, 1993 $2.50 ON DISPLAY UNTIL JANUARY 25

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HOPE IN HARD TIMES



CANADIANS SPEAK OUT ABOUT WHAT THEY LOVE AND HATE

- ✓ MPs Doing What They Are Told
- ✓ Inner Peace — Not Money
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FROM THE DIRECTOR OF "BEVERLY HILLS COP"

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Col. Frank Slade has a very special plan for the weekend.

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Maclean's

SPECIAL ISSUE

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JANUARY 4, 1993 VOL. 106 NO. 01

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HOPE IN HARD TIMES

The ninth annual Maclean's poll discloses a widening chasm between the governors and the governed. With that, there are also signs of a growing mood among Canadians that, if the politicians will not help to provide a better life, individuals demand to do it themselves. The move towards greater dependence on personal effort and improvement is reflected in responses to questions that cover a broad field, from economics to fantasies, politics to sex.

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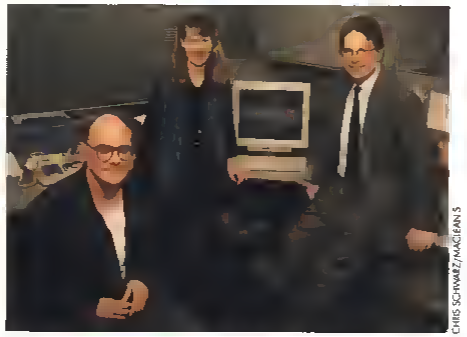


A Shift In Attitudes

When *Maclean's* polled Canadians in late 1984 in the first of its annual sampling of national opinions, the magazine concluded from the responses that the nation was in a confident mood. "Canadians say they are realistic, optimistic—and sexy," the editors reported on the cover. Responses in the ninth annual *Maclean's* poll (again carried out by Decima Research, but with CTV as a partner for the first time) indicate that, overall, Canadians seem no less confident. But they are more inclined to rest their hopes in hard times on self-reliance and self-discipline, as government retreats from management of the economy and withdraws the social safety net. Popular confidence in politics has diminished since the 1984 poll, when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had just taken office. And, as one sign that people are exercising more self-restraint, they are even less ready to talk about their sex lives and fantasies.

The mood swing reflects the times. In 1984, Canada was recovering from recession, but the current slump persists with no sure cure in sight (about half of the people polled in 1984 rated unemployment Canada's most pressing problem, but almost two-thirds now cite recession-driven unemployment as the top issue). And where half of those polled in 1984 said that they looked to government, ahead of business and unions, to care for their economic interests, now only about one-quarter of the respondents give that answer.

The current attitudes are reported in this issue by a team headed by National Editor Ross Laver, with research led by Deputy Chief Researcher Brian Bethune. Designer Eric Legge prepared the graphics and Assistant Photo Editor Kristine Ryall provided illustrations, both under the leadership of Art Director Nick Burnett. As for sex, and signs of a more serious mood, more than 900 of the 1,500 people polled simply declined to answer when invited to name a celebrity who they would most like to have an affair with—a record number of refusals to any question in nine annual polls.



CHRIS SCHWARZ/MACLEAN'S

Legge (left), Ryall and Laver: Canadians are less ready to talk about their sex fantasies

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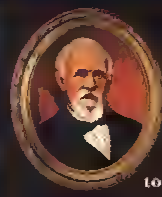
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LETTERS

The spiritual Jesus

As a person of faith, I would like to compliment you on the balanced coverage you gave to the question "Who was Jesus?" (Cover, Dec 21). Unfortunately, I found I had a bad taste in my mouth after I had finished reading the two articles. A number of authors whose recent books you cited do have legitimate quests, but what is their motivation? It seems that they are trying to expose proponents of traditional orthodox Christian belief as seemingly fraudulent. To add insult to injury, these authors seem unable to come up with any conclusive answer to the question that your story asks. But I think the question "Who was Jesus?" is better answered by those who have a vested interest in knowing the answer.

Jeffrey F. Loach,
Tara, Ont

Your four-page mishmash of supposedly scholarly comment on the new quest for the historical Jesus was more hysterical then historical. We got an island of genuine scholarship concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls, surrounded by a sea of pure speculation. Maybe next time, you might concentrate on the insights of some genuine biblical scholars and even cite one or two of the many thousands of Canadians whose lives have been indelibly marked by Jesus' presence. Oh well—at least you had Jesus on the cover.

Pastor Glenn H. Teal,
Lakeview Free Methodist Church,
Saskatoon

'Fresh reading'

The new theories about the identity of Jesus have one thing in common: speculation. When a scholar begins with presuppositions that deny the historical facts of the Gospels, the final story line can range from an esoteric riddle (Barbara Thiering's book *Jesus & the Riddle of the Dead Sea Scrolls*) to a blasphemous parody (Gore Vidal's book *Live from Golgotha*). Such interpretations are based primarily on the authors' philosophical preference, not on objective evidence of archeology or linguistics. A fresh reading of the New Testament can still provide answers about Jesus that are accessible and believable.

John Woodward,
Grimsby, Ont.



St. Michael's Cathedral window, Toronto

The pictures of Jesus in your issue are misleading. He could have looked somewhat like the cover picture after the torture and degradation before His crucifixion, but he was not pale-skinned, and his expression belies the active, strenuous, sometimes temper-ridden extrovert depicted in the Four Gospels. As for the picture inside the magazine, it reminds me of a weak English nobleman who likely lived during the artist's lifetime. Whoever Jesus was, he was not like the pictures portrayed.

Beryl Wells,
Sidney, B.C.

Benjamin Creme, the British artist and author, speaking eloquently about the reappearance of the Christ in Vancouver in June, 1992, stated that Jesus is now living in the outskirts of Rome, and has been doing so for several years now. Reading your cover story and the fanciful speculative theories on Jesus makes me fervently hope that Creme is right—if only to deliver us from biblical scholars.

Rob Ryane,
Vancouver

Zealous bashing

In her zeal to bash unions and NDP governments, Diane Francis, as usual has it all wrong ("The NDP plans some shotgun weddings," Column, Dec. 14). Her ire is raised by the Ontario government's recognition that about 2,000 provincial employees have been improperly excluded from the bargaining unit represented by the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU). She thinks they should be given a choice of bargaining units, "as 7,000 others have been allowed to do." The 7,000 are technical experts and policy analysts who were not allowed to join a union under the harsh exclusion rules written by the Tories 20 years ago. The 2,000, on the other hand, meet the criteria laid down in the legal definition of OPSEU's bargaining unit. What Francis and other union bashers really want is to abolish the concept of the exclusive bargaining agent, which has been part of Canadian labor law for almost half a century.

Fred Upshaw,
President, OPSEU,
North York, Ont.

Diane Francis focuses on a problem that many of us within unionized labor agree needs to be addressed: the ever-growing distance between those members and the people whose dues pay their salaries. Recently, *Maclean's* ran an advertisement that blasted the Mulroney government's decision to build new helicopters. While that in itself did not bother me, I was bothered to find that my very own union was listed as one of the ad's paid supporters. Francis points out that organized labor is needed as a "countervail against abuses of workers by managers or owners," but it is not right when that organization does not keep its members informed as to what it is doing with their money.

William Allan Cotton,
Halifax

Mocking Islam

Your editorial regarding Salman Rushdie's desire to have his death sentence lifted is quite misleading ("Rushdie on the run," Dec. 21). Considering the damage already done through *The Satanic Verses*, a death sentence is neither a necessary nor a sufficient retribution. Removing the death sentence will solve nothing as long as people continue to read what amounts to a mockery of Islamic tradition. All that Moslem people demand is for their share of a form of justice that has previously been instituted when other religious and ethnic groups have been similarly undermined.

Munsif Bhimani,
Don Mills, Ont.

A nightmarish future

Allan Fotheringham paints a nightmare in "Vote for the love of chaos" (Column, Dec. 21). Five more years of Brian Mulroney, aided by the ultraconservative Preston Manning and Lucien Bouchard's merry gang of separatists, is too awful to contemplate. All the unemployed will be told again that they are too lazy to work and should be happy to share the pain. And if you are in need of food banks you will be subjected to cooking lessons from [Tory MP] Barbara Greene. What a future.

Pearl Miller,
Downsview, Ont.

Letters may be condensed. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone number. Write: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7. Or fax: (416) 596-7730.



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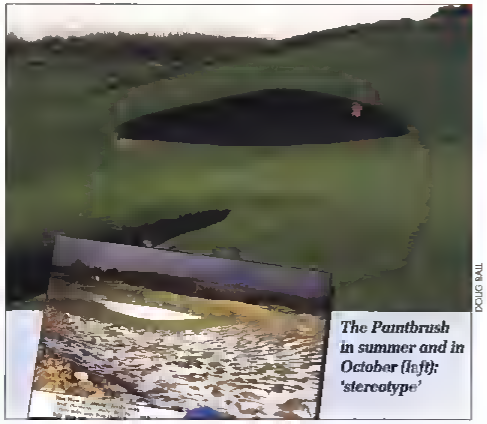
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OPENING NOTES

A wintry tribute, Canadian dream dates and a salute to 1992

THE GREAT WHITE NORTH

For the past two years, Canadian golf courses have been included in the previously all-American rankings of new courses that appear in the January edition of *Golf Digest* magazine. Last year, Devil's Pulpit, a sprawling stadium course designed by American architect Michael Hurdzan and developed by Canadian Trivial Pursuit co-creators Scott Abbott and Chris Haney in Caledon, Ont., 40 km northwest of Toronto, won the magazine's top honor for Canadian courses. Now, *Golf Digest* has ranked the club's second course, the Devil's Paintbrush, also by Hurdzan, as No. 1 in Canada for 1992. But the course owners say that this year's honor is a mixed blessing. The photograph of the breathtaking Paintbrush layout in the magazine was taken following a freak October snow squall, and it shows the green on the ninth hole covered in snow under a brooding, dark sky. Although clearly pleased with the ranking, Abbott said that he would have preferred any one of a number of *other* photographs available that showed the Paintbrush in peak condition. He added: "The picture does nothing but reinforce the stereotype that Canada is some kind of frozen wasteland." For his part, *Golf Digest* architecture editor Ron Whitten, who adjudicates the annual rankings, said that he understood why the course owners were upset by the picture. The only consolation, he added, was the fact that the shot was so striking. Said Whitten: "This is the most distinctive piece of golf photography that we have had in the magazine for a long time."



DOUG KATZ

The Paintbrush in summer and in October (left): 'stereotype'

GO FIGURE

Behind 1992's major news stories about war, famine, recession and the referendum, life went on in all its weirdness, subject to the tricks of fate and personal whim. To commemorate a year that many Canadians may want to forget, Maclean's staff members scoured the globe for the gaffes and the oddballs, the trivial and the telling. A monthly selection.

JANUARY

EDMONTON—"My Canada has Quebec in it," acknowledges Alberta Premier Don Getty before speaking out against official bilingualism.

SINGAPORE—Citing the "perennial nuisance" of having to clean it from public places, Singapore bans the import of chewing gum. The penalty for first offence: a $7,190 fine, or a year in jail, or both.

FEBRUARY

JAMMU, INDIA—Officials release a monkey into the wild after it had been arrested and caged for 66 days. The monkey had been captured after it had "molested" about 30 young women patients and nurses in a hospital near Jammu by hugging and kissing them.



MARCH

COLUMBIA, S.C.—Senator Ernest Hollings claims he was joking when he told workers at a South Carolina plant that they "should draw a mushroom cloud and put underneath it, 'Made in America by lazy and illiterate Americans and tested in Japan.'"

TOULOUSE, FRANCE—During a special cleaning operation in the Brunquel caves, boy scouts mistake 15,000-year-old paintings of bison for graffiti and partially erase them.

APRIL

LONDON—The tabloid *Sun*'s resident psychic reports that Elvis Presley is rooting for Prime Minister John Major and the Conservatives in Britain's upcoming general election. Josef Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Karl Marx support the Labour Party. Adolf Hitler, queried about his preference, responds: *"Gott in Himmel!* Why waste my time!"

OTTAWA—Just-released 1991 census figures show that the Ontario township of Tiny grew in population by 16 per cent since 1986. The population of Biggar, Sask., shrank by 10 per cent.

MAY

EFFINGHAM COUNTY, GA.—Fred Turner, 53, sets out from his home town of Beaufort, S.C., on a walk across the United States to prove, he says, that most people are good. A week later, in Georgia, he is robbed and pushed over a bridge.

JUNE

ABIDJAN, IVORY COAST—A woman who stayed five nights in a hotel insists that Jesus will pick up the tab.

NEW YORK CITY—Frank Locascio, co-defendant with Mafia boss John Gotti, tells the judge about to sentence him and Gotti to prison for racketeering and murder: "If there were more men like John Gotti on this earth, we would have a better country."

JULY

VANCOUVER—Bevil Conway, 17, qualifies for the Pacific National Exhibition beauty pageant by winning the North Shore Youth Competition. "My older sister calls me Miss North Shore," he tells reporters.



PETER IRSIC0/MACLEAN'S

MUNICH—"Given the size of the economies," Prime Minister Brian Mulroney says as the G-7 economic summit winds up, "what we could do is we could have a G-1. We could move [President George] Bush around from year to year, put him in a room so he could cogitate for three days, and then come out and tell you what we think."

AUGUST

EDMONTON—"The head of security was chasing down a guy who had two-by-four marks on his head, so obviously two-by-fours were involved somewhere," says Kevin Wharton, operations manager for Global Security, after a scuffle between Serb and Croat youths at the Heritage Days cultural festival.

DALLAS—"These are not caribou that are even American caribou. These are Canadian caribou," says Texas congressman Jack Fields at the Republican national convention, on why environmentalists should not be concerned about opening the Alaskan Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling.

SEPTEMBER

WINNIPEG—Four psychics open the Manitou Centre of Light and Healing, promising a money-back guarantee on their predictions. Four months later, after the uninsured psychic-service building burns down, partner Alison Neves says, "The spirits we work with don't always know what is going to happen."

OCTOBER

VANCOUVER—University of Victoria researchers report that female snails in British Columbia's polluted coastal waters are growing penises and turning into males.

TORONTO—A *Globe and Mail* horoscope promises Libras that their "domestic life looks much butter."



HABEL/FIRST LIGHT

NOVEMBER

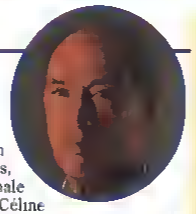
LITTLEDEAN, ENGLAND—Doris, a 210-lb sow, breaks out of her sty and corners a newspaper deliveryman in a telephone booth—apparently with love on her mind. "He looked like a bit of a porker himself," says one observer. "He was a bit fattish."

AMSTERDAM—A gang of children kicks, punches and throws stones at Santa Claus as he arrives with presents at a kindergarten in Rotterdam.

DECEMBER

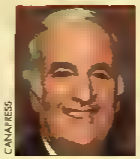
NORWICH, ENGLAND—To educate prisoners about the Bard, lecturer Jane Wirgman distributes copies of *Shakespeare's Insults*. The prisoners' favorites: "You king of codpieces" and (for someone with body odor) "He sweats to death and lards the lean earth as he walks along."

FEAR OF FANTASY



"If you were to have an affair," 1,500 Canadians were asked in the 1992 *Maclean's* annual opinion poll, "which well-known personality would you most like to have an affair with?" In all, respondents named 241 different putative partners, most of them American show-business personalities (page 30). Of those, 167 received just one vote each. Only 13 individuals achieved double-digit status in the desirability stakes (10 to 30 votes), with Mel Gibson the choice of 30 poll respondents—including one man—and Madonna and Julie Masse locked at 25 each. Only seven Canadian names cropped up: Pierre Trudeau and Mitsou, each with four votes, two other female pop singers, Céline Dion and Alannah Myles, along with Mila Mulroney, at three votes each, and hockey stars Mario Lemieux and Eric Lindros tied at two. But most people polled refused to play. Fully 633 of them retreated modestly into the "don't know/no answer" category in the confidential poll. And 276 Canadians (almost one in five of those polled) declined to choose—because they categorically "would not have an affair."

PASSAGES



CANAPRESS

DIED: Steven Ross, 65, the controversial chairman of entertainment and media conglomerate Time Warner Inc., of prostate cancer, at his New York City home. Ross had tried to smooth the uneasy 1989 merger between the former Warner Communications Inc. and Time Inc., but reports of further corporate upheaval accompanied the announcement of his death. In 1993, eight directors from the Warner camp will resign. Time Warner president **Gerald Levin**, 53, a member of the Time contingent, replaces Ross as chief executive officer.

DIED: Violinist **Nathan Milstein**, 88, of a heart attack, at his London home. Unlike most violinists, who are forced into relatively early retirement because their fingers lose their dexterity, Milstein was still performing at 84. Born in Odessa, Ukraine, he defected to the West in 1926. He recorded and toured widely with fellow Ukrainian defector, pianist **Vladimir Horowitz**.

DIED: Actress and influential acting teacher **Stella Adler**, 91, of heart failure, at her home in Los Angeles. Her many students included **Marlon Brando**, **Robert De Niro**, **Warren Beatty**, **Richard Dreyfuss**, **Melanie Griffith** and **Anthony Quinn**. Russian director and teacher **Konstantin Stanislavsky** influenced her techniques, which included pressing students to create characters by carefully studying the text of the play and its historical context.

DIED: Master blues musician **Albert King**, 69, of a heart attack, in a Memphis hospital. Originally a drummer, he rose to stardom as a guitarist and singer backed by Booker T. and The MGs. King turned songs including *Laundromat Blues* and *Born Under a Bad Sign* into standards.

DIED: Belgian cartoonist **Peyo** (born Pierre Culliford), 84, creator of the Smurfs; of a heart attack, in Brussels. His tiny blue elves have starred in more than 250 animated cartoons since he created them in 1958.

MAYBE, THIS YEAR?



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COLUMN



The unhelpfulness of self-help books

BY BARBARA AMIEL

The minute I got off my London-Toronto flight, I headed for my hairdresser I'm sure someone like the Duchess of Windsor said that she could face anything with a good cut and a decent manicure, which is pretty much how I feel whenever I hit Bob Rae's Ontario One shouldn't joke about such things, of course, because somewhere, this very moment, lurks a self-righteous journalist who will take this to be a serious sentiment of mine, worthy of forever labelling me Babs Antoinette All the same, my hairdresser makes the best cappuccino in the whole world and sympathetically copes with the inverse relationship between volume of hair and increasing age, so it was into the comfy chair of Robert Gage that I fell.

Robert was not as interested as usual in the state of my scalp. "This is what you need," he said, putting a pop-psychology best-seller into my hands. I read the title, *Unlimited Power*, with interest I could not be certain that all Robert's fellow Canadians would feel it a positive step to give me such a guidebook, but like many people, I have often thought how nice it would be to get the best of life's little encounters. "Read it," Gage commanded.

The section he showed me was quite a grabber The author, Anthony Robbins, was discussing how to overcome resistance to one's plans and quoted Benjamin Franklin. "I develop the habit," Franklin wrote, "of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence, never using, when I advance anything that may possibly be disputed, the words 'certainly', 'undoubtedly,' or any other that gives the air of positiveness to an opinion, but rather say, 'I conceive,' or 'apprehend' a thing to be so and so."

I made a note to show this to my sub-editors at *The Sunday Times* in England who try constantly to stop my habit of prefacing my opinions with "... it seems to me." I had no idea that by using this phrase I was avoiding words that "trigger negative responses." Mind you, from the letters I get, the method is not entirely foolproof.

The best of these books contain nothing that successful people have not known all their lives

I read on. I learned that using the word "but" can be one of the most "destructive" words in our language Then I turned, naturally, to the chapter on love Speaking as a female, any self-help book that can end those awful vigils by the telephone waiting for him to call is worthy of a Faustian pact. I happen to have stumbled into a blissful marital state myself, but sisterhood (and a prudent nature) requires one to keep monitoring the field. *Unlimited Power* takes on the management of one's love life quite fearlessly

According to Robbins, we must "elicit strategies" in order to manage our men Strategies can be "accessed" by putting a person in a fully "associated" state It all gets a bit complicated, but the upshot is that you have to ask *him* the questions about his rocking horse and note the eye movements that follow as he recalls childhood memories This will tell you whether he is "auditory digital" or "kinesthetic." The point is, Robbins claims, trouble between loved ones begins when you give a kinetic response to someone who craves a "visual remembered" one, or an "auditory constructed" one to an "auditory digital." Disastrous!

As *Unlimited Power* puts it "The husband is visual and the wife is auditory He shows his wife he loves her by buying her things, taking her places, sending her flowers One day she says, 'You don't love me.' He's upset. 'How can you say that. Look at this home I've bought for you, all the places I take you.' She says, 'Yeah, but you never say you love me.' 'I love you,' he screams in a tonality not even close to her strategy. As a result, she doesn't feel loved."

No doubt this analysis is infallible—and I am the Queen of Sheba. If relationships were to fall apart for the sort of reasons listed in this book, they would have to be (a) the sort of relationships that I have yet to see on this earth, and (b) the kind that it would be probably most salutary for all concerned that they fall apart. I began to wonder about the great American self-help book and why it has such a grip

The best of these books contain nothing that successful people have not known all their lives, and what is true in them usually relates to attitude and discipline. Insofar as these points are true, unsuccessful or powerless people are incapable of learning them The interesting thing about success and power is that the moment you write down a rule for getting it, the very act of writing it down negates the effectiveness of the rule. The whole point about, say, the skill of communicating, or the qualities of leadership are their infinite flexibility. You have to invent at every turn There can be no set rules or procedures Mr Robbins's admonition notwithstanding, the word "but" may be the most positive word ever invented in the vocabulary of a clever person like himself. The point is that the elements of human success cannot be reduced, ever, in this mechanistic way.

North Americans love these books for a very good reason. We are the first of the genuine modern democracies On this side of the Atlantic, unlike Europe, one can practically remake our hierarchy every generation Naturally, some people have a leg up by having rich or clever parents But, just as often, the elites of our time are quite self-made, our cabinet ministers or great jurists may be the children of rag-and-bone salesmen, our great industrialists are often the sons of penniless immigrants More than in any other society history has ever known, hierarchy is determined by our own actions and qualities This, understandably, creates a feeling in North America that success is up to us. Hence the self-help syndrome.

It is useless; human beings do not come with little instruction sheets showing what button to press in order to elicit what response—though I agree that would be extremely handy. Most of us do have habits that we are aware of and would like to alter and perhaps there may be a few sufficiently suggestible people who can be helped by books, tapes and courses, though I doubt how permanently. I suppose that Europeans will become less class-conscious and more Americanized and these books will take their grip over them as well In the end, all one can say is that such books make their authors successful, and by their very popularity become a weather vane for the openness of our society After all, no one in ossified Egypt would have bothered reading the hieroglyphic version of *Unlimited Power* Only in America

MACLEAN'S/CTV POLL

HOPE IN HARD TIMES

AS THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING ERODES, CANADIANS DEMAND THAT POLITICIANS PAY ATTENTION TO THEIR PROBLEMS

In Canada, 1992 will be remembered as the year when voters rose up against their elected leaders and defeated a constitutional proposal supported by virtually every mainstream political party and establishment institution in the country. It was also a year in which Americans, seeking a way out of the worst economic slump since the Great Depression, turned their backs on the Reagan-Bush conservative agenda and elected a fortysomething liberal who played saxophone on *The Arsenio Hall Show* and called for a return to activist government. In Europe, the anti-establishment storm threatened the Maastricht treaty, a document that politicians hoped would bring harmony to the European Community but which instead became a lightning rod for discontent. Throughout the developed world, the political tides are turning—driven by widespread economic anxieties and a deeply rooted conviction that politicians have lost touch with the interests of the people they represent.

Both those currents are starkly evident in the results of the ninth annual



The text of the poll, and a description of the methodology, begins on page 42. This year's edition includes feature articles on politics, the economy and sexual behavior. As well, there are reports on crime, immigration, national unity, fantasies and the top stories of 1992. For statistical validity, results have been broken down by region rather than by province.



DUSAN STAJIC





Toronto voters on referendum day: a protest against politicians who 'just don't get it'

Maclean's poll by Decima Research, conducted for the first time this year in partnership with CTV. Based on telephone interviews with 1,500 Canadian residents 18 years or older, the survey found that 64 per cent of the sample said that unemployment and the weak economy are the most important problems facing the country, a sharp rise from last year's 42 per cent. At the same time, 35 per cent of respondents are "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" with their economic situation, down marginally from last year's finding but still more than double the rate of discontentment four years ago. Significantly, the issue that loomed over the Canadian political landscape like no other in the past 12 months, national unity, was cited as the top problem by a mere five per cent—a dramatic illustration of the chasm between the concerns of those who govern and those who are governed.

In the 1990s, one of the most damning things that can be said about a politician in Canada or abroad is that he or she "just doesn't get it." When George Bush attended a grocers' convention last February and stared in wonderment at a supermarket bar-code scanner—a machine familiar to millions of shoppers but not, apparently, to the leader of the only remaining superpower—it reinforced his image as a man isolated from the real world. Similarly, the long months of constitutional negotiations exasperated many Canadians, and led them to conclude that their own concerns—for a steady paycheque and a secure future—no longer counted for much in the cloistered world of career politicians and political consultants.

Indeed, the *Maclean's*/CTV poll indicates that there is a close link between Canadians' anxieties about the economy and their sense of alienation from the political process. In general, respondents who said that the economy is getting worse were significantly more likely than others to say that their faith in politicians has decreased in the past few years—and that most politicians "only seem interested in helping themselves."

Decima president Allan Gregg, who has supervised year-end polls for *Maclean's* since 1984, said that the results point to a profound sense of frustration on the part of Canadian voters. "Think about it—what have been the predominant issues occupying the political agenda for the past decade?" Gregg asked. "Free trade, the GST, deficit reduction and the Constitution. Not one of those is a people's issue—zero." He added: "You get a sense that the political system is running for the political elite. And the reaction is, 'You don't understand what we're going through. You don't listen to us, and you don't seem prepared to do things on our behalf.'"

As the sense of economic crisis deepens, many Canadians appear to be questioning the conservative principles that have guided political leaders in most Western democracies since the early 1980s. Launched by Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States, the conservative revolution was founded on a belief in small government, and a conviction that the primary responsibility of deficit-burdened administrations is to restrain public spending. But when asked to choose between two radically different mandates, 57 per cent of those polled said that the most urgent job for government right now is to invest in programs that give people skills for the future—even if it means increasing the deficit. Only 41 per cent said that Ottawa should do everything possible to reduce the deficit, even if it means cutting services.

But to conclude that the political pendulum is swinging back towards traditional liberalism is clearly too simplistic. When asked to define in more general terms the proper role of government, the responses were mixed. 37 per cent said that it was to create an environment "where business can prosper and create jobs," 31 per cent said that it was to invest in areas like education and 25 per cent said that it was to control public spending. A mere seven per cent responded that the primary role of government was to provide services that people "cannot provide for themselves"—the traditional social safety net.

According to Gregg, the poll indicates that Canadians reject not only the radical conservative philosophy but also the view that governments, acting on their own, can solve long-standing social problems. "The political pendulum may be swinging back, but it isn't swinging back on exactly the same path," he said. "The notion that we have a problem so we need a new Crown corporation or more government doesn't cut it any more. Clinton taps into this when he says he's going to give people a hand up, not a handout. And people are looking to governments for that kind of initiative because they say, 'If not government, who?'"

That condition poses an enormous dilemma for politicians in the 1990s. On the one hand, the *Maclean's*/CTV poll shows that many Canadians are troubled by the continuing erosion of the country's prosperity in the global economy—and, as a result, are looking to governments for practical and effective measures that would protect and improve their standard of living. But at the same time, they have little confidence that their political representatives are up to the challenge. Perhaps only when Canadians see evidence that their political leaders understand and empathize with their economic fears will they suspend their cynicism and distrust towards the political process.

ROSS LAVER

What is the most important problem facing Canada?

	NOW	1991
UNEMPLOYMENT/ THE ECONOMY	64%	42%
GOVERNMENT/ GOV'T SPENDING/DEFICIT	11	10
NATIONAL UNITY/ THE CONSTITUTION	5	19
TAXES	3	10
ENVIRONMENT	2	4
OTHER/DON'T KNOW	15	17

Which of these is the most important role of government?

To create an environment where business can prosper and create jobs — 37%

To invest in areas like education that provide Canadians with skills they need to help themselves — 31%

To control public spending and reduce the deficit — 25%

To provide services that people cannot provide for themselves — 7%

What is most important right now?

To do everything possible to reduce the deficit, even if it means cutting services — 41%

To invest in programs that give people skills for the future, even if it means the deficit increases — 57%

If your province was given the opportunity to join the United States, would you be inclined to take it or not?

	NOW	1989
YES	20%	16%
NO	79	82
NO OPINION	1	1

YES BY REGION:



YES BY AGE.



Percentage supporting increased spending on education and training, even if the deficit increases:

BY REGION:



BY AGE:



Are you more or less proud of Canada now than five years ago?



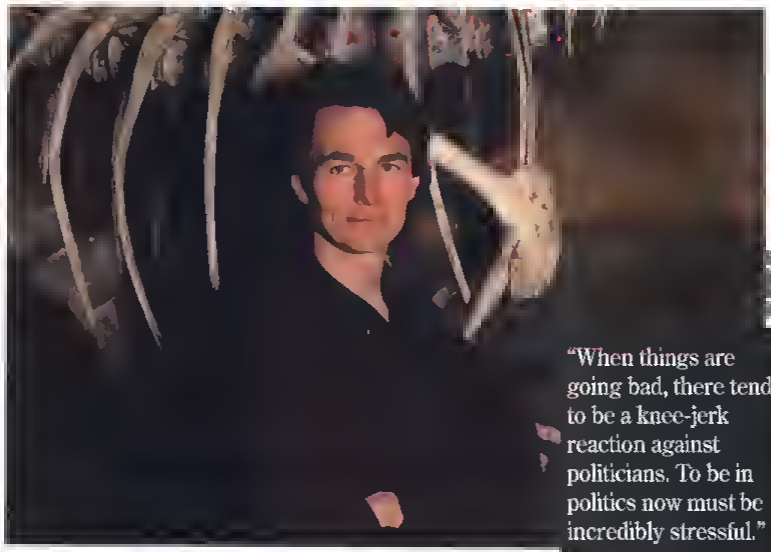


Will the generation being born now be better off or worse off than their parents?



TIME TO LISTEN

NO LONGER WILLING TO DEFER TO POLITICAL LEADERS, VOTERS WANT REPRESENTATIVES WHO DO AS THEY ARE TOLD



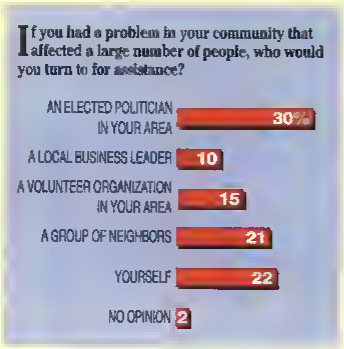
"When things are going bad, there tends to be a knee-jerk reaction against politicians. To be in politics now must be incredibly stressful."

— Poll respondent
Paul Johnston, 38
Scientist, Drumheller, Alta.

Intelligent, idealistic and still only 32, Les Campbell is the sort of person that every political party wants to attract to its fold. A onetime aide to Manitoba NDP leader Gary Doer, Campbell became Audrey McLaughlin's chief of staff shortly after she won the federal NDP leadership in 1989. The next summer, Campbell showed his dedication when he and several other NDP staff members visited Oka, Que., during the standoff involving provincial police and residents of the local Mohawk reserve—despite the fact that the Quebec government said it could not guarantee their safety. Last fall, McLaughlin made him the party's senior representative on the national Yes committee for the Oct. 26 constitutional referendum. Said Harry Near, Campbell's Conservative counterpart on the committee: "Les is the kind of guy who made me feel good about the political process. He is a solid professional with a first-class character."

But even before the referendum campaign began, Campbell had become disillusioned with Parliament Hill. Day after day, he told *Maclean's*, "I would go to Question Period and watch politicians go ape and behave towards each other in a manner that was not only vicious, but pointless. Then, they would wonder why people held them all in contempt." He added that he was startled during the referendum campaign by the depths of public animosity. "I am not the greatest fan of [Prime Minister Brian] Mulroney," he said. "But the level of dislike towards him is ridiculous." Less than six weeks after the referendum, Campbell abruptly resigned as McLaughlin's chief of staff. He did so, he says, despite his "deep respect" for, and mutually warm relations with, the NDP leader, and without any clear future plans. Explained Campbell: "I left because politics in this country are no longer working. Unless we fundamentally change the rules of the game, everyone will lose."

If you had a problem in your community that affected a large number of people, who would you turn to for assistance?



Campbell's decision reflects the frustration and sense of helplessness shared by politicians of all stripes—and the gloomy future they see before them. For many, the differences between established political parties and their constituents crystallized in the referendum, in which 54.4 per cent of voters rejected a proposal endorsed by Mulroney, McLaughlin, Liberal leader Jean Chrétien, all 10 provincial premiers and a solid majority of the country's business and social elite. Asked to choose their favorite political leader from a list of six in the *Maclean's*/CTV poll, 30 per cent of those surveyed insisted on "none of the above"—an option that was not even included on the questionnaire. Another 14 per cent chose U.S. president-elect Bill Clinton ahead of the Canadians on the list.

As those results illustrate, a sharply increasing number of Canadians reject the styles and solutions offered by traditional parties—and have unhappily concluded that their political leaders are an annoying, unnecessary evil. Many people, especially a new generation of disenchanted young Canadians in their early 20s, regard politicians as more of an impediment than an asset to their everyday lives. It used to be an axiom in politics that an erosion in the popularity of one party would translate into an increase in support for its opponents. But, says Campbell, that is no longer entirely true. "People will vote for the Liberals because they are not the Conservatives, but there is no real enthusiasm there," he said. "And we in the NDP have been marginalized. People say they like us but will not vote for us—and I do not know why."

In fact, many voters think that the established parties are unwilling—as well as unable—to meet the needs of the electorate. Said Environment Minister Jean Charest, 34, who was first elected to the Commons in 1984: "Nothing worries or frustrates me more than the cynicism I see in young people towards politics. So many of them have no trust or belief in anything." That attitude is not restricted to the young. Declared Chrétien, 58: "A big problem is trust and honesty. People think we are a bunch of crooks."

Even the term "politicians" has become for many Canadians a kind of verbal shorthand—implying that those who hold elected office, regardless of their political affiliation, have more in common with each other than with their constituents. In part, the perception springs from a belief that MPs and provincial MLAs—many of whom enjoy comparatively generous salaries, travel benefits, lavish indexed pensions and other perquisites that they have bestowed upon themselves—are insulated from the harsh economic realities that confront other Canadians. The current minimum salary for an MP is $85,700, while the average Canadian income is $24,038.

Traditionally, voters tolerated that disparity in the belief that generous benefits were necessary to attract qualified candidates to public office. Canadians expected their elected leaders to be the kind of people they could look up to and emulate—"a leader must be a leader," as Pierre Trudeau liked to say. But in the chilly political climate of the 1990s, many voters want those roles reversed—so that their politicians listen to *them*. Said Decima president Allan Gregg, who is also the Tories' chief pollster: "In traditional politics, there was always a certain pomp and ceremony the leader as chairman of the board. Now, people are saying, 'I'm as good as you are.' The deference is gone."

In its place, Canadians want politicians whose life experiences are less removed from their own. New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna, one of the few leaders with a high popularity rating in his home province, is widely praised by peers for running a frugal, cost-efficient administration, at least one federal Tory minister says admiringly that McKenna's Liberal government "is the most efficient government in Canada." At the same time, his populist manner is admired by many voters. McKenna attends the same Fredericton church every Sunday, shops at a local market on Saturday mornings and plays street hockey with his staff in the afternoon.

Ralph Klein, who replaced Don Getty as Alberta premier last month, also has a populist streak that appeals to voters. By the final week of the leadership race, almost every other member of Getty's Conservative cabinet, and most federal Alberta Tory MPs, had thrown their support to Klein's chief rival, then-Health Minister Nancy Betkowski. But Klein shrewdly portrayed that as evidence that Betkowski was too closely tied to the establishment—and was out of touch with the concerns of average Albertans. Critics, meanwhile, took aim at Klein's fondness for late-hour drinking sessions in Calgary beer parlors, but his supporters saw that as proof of his ability to rub shoulders with the common man.

Canada, like many other Western countries, has a long history of candidates who portray themselves as outsiders from the political establishment. Both Mulroney and Chrétien frequently evoke their backgrounds as the children of working-class parents in small Quebec towns. And NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin's swift rise to the party leadership in 1989—two years after she won a seat in the Commons—was due in no small measure to a belief that she could attract more votes from women. Despite that, NDP support hardly budged when she became leader, and McLaughlin's lacklustre performance has meant that she is not so much unpopular as simply unknown to many Canadians.

Similarly, Chrétien was widely praised—and became the author of a best-selling autobiography—after he left politics in 1986. But he met almost immediate criticism upon his return in 1990—and the Liberals showed little upward movement in the polls after he captured the leadership. As in McLaughlin's case, Chrétien seemed to have more appeal when he was not considered part of the established system. Retired politicians, says a rueful Chrétien, are always more fondly regarded than active ones. "We look back, and it is always rosy." The

What in your view is the main reason why many people do not regard politicians very highly these days?

Politicians spend too much time talking among themselves and not enough time with the people
34%

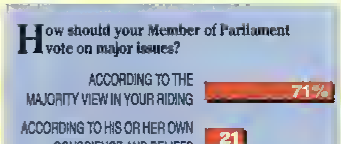
Politicians only seem interested in helping themselves and abusing their position
33%

Politicians no longer seem to have answers to the country's problems
22%

Most politicians are honest and hardworking but people expect too much of them
9%

No opinion
1%

How should your Member of Parliament vote on major issues?



Percentage who say MPs should obey their constituents





FRANK GUNN

Campbell: 'politics in this country are no longer working'

best evidence of that is the overwhelming support for former prime minister Trudeau's constitutional position during the referendum debate—even in the West, where he was once reviled.

Of the three current national party leaders, Mulroney's personal style is most at odds with voter preferences. His ponderous, overly smooth public manner and fondness for hyperbole often seem to belong to another era—and one that is not always remembeted fondly. Mulroney's antiquated slang—including such frequently employed rhetorical devices as "I'll bet you a dollar to a doughnut" and, "Our guy just walked away with all the marbles"—seems rooted in the notion thet politics is a high-octane competition in which the victor earns the right to the spoils.

That image sometimes overshadows Mulroney's achievements—and his more generous instincts. Last month, he gave what advisers billed as a "major" foreign policy speech at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government in Cambridge, Mass. Mulroney is well regarded internationally for his foreign policy efforts, and the speech contained

Which of these approaches should the federal government take as a way of making important decisions?

HOLD A REFERENDUM	27%
TAKE A PUBLIC OPINION POLL	24
SET UP A 1-800 NUMBER SO THAT INTERESTED CANADIANS MAY EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS	25
HOLD A VOTE IN PARLIAMENT	12
CALL A FIRST MINISTERS' CONFERENCE SO THAT THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PREMIERS CAN DECIDE	10
NO OPINION	2

Percentage of respondents who selected either a poll, a 1-800 number or a referendum.

BY AGE:

18-24	84
25-34	81
35-44	73
45 54	74
55-64	68
65+	71

Percentage who said that politicians should make decisions on their own, either through a vote in Parliament or a First Ministers' meeting:

BY INCOME:

UNDER $40,000	19
$40 000-$69,999	23
$70,000+	36

How has your faith in politicians to serve the public interest changed in the last few years?

DECREASED SIGNIFICANTLY	42%
DECREASED SOMEWHAT	31
HASN'T CHANGED	20
INCREASED SOMEWHAT	5
INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY	2

Percentage of respondents who believe the economy is getting worse, who said their faith in politicians has decreased significantly

52

Of those who believe the economy is improving:

29



How confident are you that people with the qualities we need for the future will run for public office?

NOT CONFIDENT/ NOT VERY CONFIDENT	60%
SOMEWHAT CONFIDENT	34
VERY CONFIDENT	5

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MACLEAN'S/
CTV POLL



Which of these has the most honesty and integrity?



Which would you be most likely to recommend to a child as a career?



Which of these is your favorite politician?



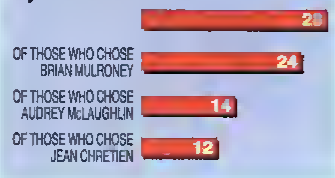
Groups that scored higher for honesty and integrity than as a career

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS
SCIENTISTS
JOURNALISTS

Groups that scored lower for honesty and integrity than as a career

DOCTORS
LAWYERS
BUSINESS EXECUTIVES

Percentage of respondents whose favorite politician is Bill Clinton, who said that they would like their province to join the United States:



several key announcements, including a call to broaden the mandate of UN peacekeeping forces in troubled areas such as the former Yugoslavia. But Mulroney diluted the impact of those statesmanlike declarations by peppering his address with several ill-placed ad libs. He began his speech with an old joke concerning the late Senator Robert Kennedy's alleged promises of patronage to associates during his 1968 presidential campaign. Later, a student asked Mulroney about rumors that he is being courted as chief executive officer of American Express. Mulroney denied the report, but before doing so he remarked on the position's million-dollar salary, smirked, and asked: "Where can I leave my phone number?"

Significantly, Mulroney's unpopularity has not translated into substantial gains for Chrétien or McLaughlin. The two parties that have benefited most from the Tories' woes are the Alberta-based Reform party and the pro-sovereignist Bloc Québécois—both essentially protest movements and both largely composed of disenchanted former Tories. The widespread alienation, many exasperated voters say, is because politicians from all three mainstream parties spend too much time debating issues that many people consider irrelevant or—as was the case in the constitutional debate—infuriating. Over the past two years, the Tories' private polls showed that a majority of respondents did not want their governments focusing on constitutional reform.

In the wake of the referendum, key figures in all parties acknowledge the need to make a new effort to decipher a public mood they no longer understand. But for now, said Campbell: "We are all desperately flailing around, looking for answers to how to make people believe in politics again."

Another consideration is that politicians are now expected to represent not only the regions that elected them—but also the diverse elements of a country whose residents increasingly define themselves along sexual, ethnic, linguistic, age and other lines. Such divisions were most apparent during the referendum campaign, when the list of demands by different special-interest groups was long and complex. But those discordant voices raise another discomfiting possibility: in their uncertainty and inability to agree on the country's priorities, politicians and their constituents may have more in common than either side cares to admit.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH



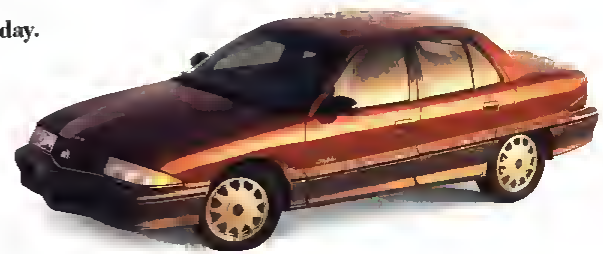
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CRIME

THE FEAR INDEX

One in three Canadians—and half of all women—say they are afraid to walk alone outside at night

In 1981, when Canadians learned of the stomach-churning crimes committed by Vancouver serial killer Clifford Olson, one of the few comforting facts was that such offences were extremely rare in Canada. But in the decade since Olson went on his rampage, brutalizing and killing at least 11 children over a five-month period, multiple murders have become more common. In December, 1989, gunman Marc Lepine slaughtered 14 women in a shooting spree at the University of Montreal's Ecole polytechnique. And in 1992, there were at least two more widely publicized multiple shootings—one in May at a McDonald's restaurant in Sydney, N.S., that left three dead, and another in August at Concordia University in Montreal, in which four professors were gunned down. According to University of Ottawa criminologist Irvin Waller, such brutal, seemingly random killings are increasing in industrialized countries and are likely to become even more common in Canada. Said Waller: "Even with our increase, we have been lucky so far. I believe it is going to get worse here before it gets better." And as the number of violent crimes increases, so too does the sense of fear among Canadians—whether they live in large cities, small towns or rural areas.

Nationally, two out of three respondents in the *Maclean's*/CTV poll said that the amount of violent crime in their community has become "somewhat worse" or "much worse" over the past five years. The proportion ranged from 50 per cent in communities of fewer than 10,000 people to 71 per cent in cities with populations over one million. By contrast, regardless of region or community size, only about one in 20 respondents said that violent crime now was less of a problem.

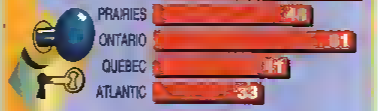
In a series of follow-up *Maclean's* interviews, most respondents said that they had based their answers largely on media reports rather than on direct experience. But federal statistics support their impressions. In 1991, the most recent year for which figures are available, Statistics Canada recorded an 8.3-per-cent increase in violent crime across the country, compared with a 6.9-per-cent increase the previous year. Overall, the amount of violent crime has shot upward by more than 50 per cent since 1986.

Canadians' views on crime appear to be related in part to their generally pessimistic outlook on life. Those who said, in response to a separate series of questions on the economy, that economic conditions are getting worse, also were more likely to say that they were afraid to walk the streets of their communities at night. Members of the same group also were more likely to say that they felt a greater personal threat from crime than they did five years ago, and that they were taking more precautions to protect their personal safety.

For his part, Fred Schultz, executive director of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, said that there is a tendency on the part of some people to overreact to the increasing crime rate. "In some areas, people are more concerned than they need to be," he said. Schultz added that police forces in Halifax, Toronto and Edmonton, among other cities, are trying to make citizens feel safer by encouraging officers to get out of their patrol cars and walk the beat. Small neighborhood police stations also help to bring officers closer to the community, he said. Waller, however, noted that in spite of those efforts there is a growing sense that the criminal justice system is incapable of coping with the rising tide of crime. "People know that what we have been doing isn't working, and it frightens them," he said. The one in three Canadians who now look over their shoulders as they walk alone through their communities at night undoubtedly share that sense of concern.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM

Percentage of Canadians who say that they keep their doors locked at all times, even when they are at home.



NATIONALLY: MEN 49 WOMEN 54

How has the behavior of young people in your community changed in the past five years?

	NOW	1990
BECOME WORSE	64%	47%
HASN'T CHANGED	28	38
BECOME BETTER	7	14

Q: In the past five years, has the amount of violent crime in your community increased or decreased?



Chitwant Kohli, 28
Financial analyst, Mississauga, Ont.

"The violence I see on television has made me more aware of the dangers of going out at night. Basically, I think the problem is that parents are not teaching their children traditional values."



Valerie Geisler, 30
Computer systems analyst, Edmonton

"I think it has improved. There was a report recently that Edmonton is no longer the number 2 city for crime in Canada—we're now number 6. In fact, we moved recently, partly because we didn't like the level of crime in the neighborhood where we were living."



Peter Theriault, 29
Legislative administrator, Halifax

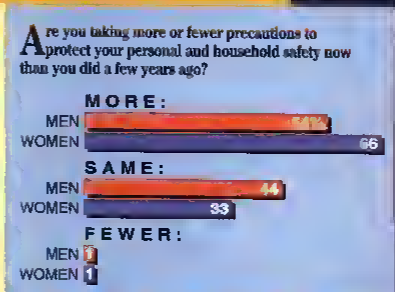
"In the past year or so, people have been talking more about break-ins and assaults. Youth gangs also seem to be worse. We're getting deeper and deeper into the bad times down here and I think it is beginning to show in the level of crime."



Evelyne Gagné, 18
Store clerk, Ste-Thérèse, Que.

"It seems like there are a lot more crimes reported these days. Most often it's people who have no work and are really desperate. Virginie Lanviere's petition against violence on TV is a very good thing."

Are you taking more or fewer precautions to protect your personal and household safety now than you did a few years ago?



Percentage of Canadians between the ages of 18 and 44 who say that the amount of violent crime in their community has become "much worse" in the past five years:
23

Of those aged 45 to 64:
32

Of those aged 65 or older:
46

Percentage of Canadians who say that there is actually less crime in their community now than five years ago:
4

50%
of adult Canadians say that they feel more threatened by crime now than five years ago. Only eight per cent say that they feel less threatened.

Percentage of Canadians who say that they are afraid to walk the streets of their community at night alone:

FEB 1989 24 NOV 1990 25 NOW 33

NOW MEN 11 WOMEN 55

BY REGION.



BY COMMUNITY SIZE

ONE MILLION + 40 | 10,000-99,999 29

100,000-999,999 37 | UNDER 10,000/RURAL 21

A RELUCTANT WELCOME

When Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt proposed a major overhaul of Canada's immigration law last summer, human rights advocates and many lawyers reacted with outrage. Critics argued that Bill C-86—which will require the government to fingerprint all refugee claimants and to direct new arrivals to regions where their skills are needed most—is unfair to immigrants and will make it harder for people fleeing persecution or poverty to enter Canada. Still, even those who disagree with the thrust of the legislation say that the government's stand reflects a new, tougher attitude towards immigrants among Canadians. Said George Frajkor, secretary of the Ottawa-based Canadian Ethnocultural Council. "Rather than trying to convince people that their fears about foreigners are groundless, politicians are playing on those fears."

Canadians, says one analyst, are 'afraid of being swamped by strange foreigners'

The *Maclean's*/CTV poll, conducted by Decima Research, demonstrates that many Canadians find it difficult to accept new arrivals, particularly those from regions other than Europe or the United States. Regardless of age, income or level of education, only about one respondent in five welcomed the increase in immigration from Asia, the West Indies and other, mainly Third World, countries over the past two decades. The rest of the sample answered that it was either "bad", "very bad" or simply a "fact of life"

A comparison of those results with respondents' views on the economy indicates that the recession has influenced Canadians' attitudes towards immigrants. Thirty-two per cent of those who were pessimistic about the economy had negative opinions of visible minorities, while only 26 per cent of those who felt the economy was improving said that immigrants from Asia, the West Indies and other parts of the Third World were bad for Canada. Said Nancy Worsfold, executive director of Montreal's Canadian Council for Refugees: "There is a mythology about refugees stealing jobs. In fact, new arrivals mean more consumption"—which creates additional jobs for the expanding population. For his part, Frajkor said that the real reason for opposition to immigration may be that people "are afraid of being swamped by strange foreigners, and an economic reason sounds much more acceptable than a racist one."

Despite the obvious misgivings that many Canadians have about immigration, the country continues to accept large numbers of foreigners—last year, over 250,000. Of Canada's 27 million residents, 4.3 million were born elsewhere but have been granted permission to stay. Along with Australia and the United States, Canada is one of a handful of developed nations that welcomes substantial numbers of immigrants and allows them eventually to become full citizens.

But the face of Canadian immigration has changed dramatically over the past 20 years. In the 1970s, for the first time, immigrants from Asia and the Caribbean outnumbered those from Europe and the United States. In the 1980s, Asians represented almost half of the immigrants to Canada. Significantly, a growing number of Canadians appear to believe that immigrants should give up their different cultures and instead try to "blend in" with the surrounding population. Three years ago, 40 per cent of respondents in a similar *Maclean's* poll said that new immigrants should be encouraged to "maintain their distinct culture and ways." This year the figure is 34 per cent, and there is a corresponding increase—to 63 per cent from 57 per cent—in the number of people who said that immigrants should be encouraged to "blend with the larger society." For analysts like Frajkor, those numbers offer dispiriting evidence that Canadians are becoming reluctant to accept changes to the cultural face of the nation.

NANCY WOOD



How do you view the increase in the number of immigrants arriving in Canada from Asia, the West Indies and other, mainly Third World, countries?

	BAD THING	FACT OF LIFE	GOOD THING
Among Canadians who feel more threatened by crime now than five years ago	42%	43%	15%
Among Canadians who feel less threatened by crime now than five years ago	15	48	34

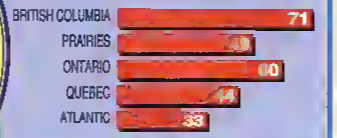
Percentage of Quebecers who say that racial and ethnic relations in their community have become "much worse" in the past five years:

17

Of respondents in the rest of Canada.

9

Percentage of Canadians who say that they have noticed more non whites in their community over the past five years:



New immigrants to Canada should be encouraged to

	NOW	1989
Maintain their distinct culture and ways	34%	40%
Blend with the larger society	63	57

Percentage of respondents who say that immigrants should change their culture and ways to blend with the larger society, by age:



Q: How do you view the increase in immigration from Asia, the West Indies and other, mainly Third World, countries?



Marion Uhlman, 61
Homemaker, Milton, N.S

"There are thousands of immigrants a year coming in and getting jobs, and our children are sitting at home with nothing to do. It is very hard on the young."



Gisele Pelletier, 30
Computer programmer, Montreal

"I have nothing against immigrants from the Third World, but if they want to wear a turban to work or perform a half-hour Moslem prayer ritual at 10 a.m., I draw the line."



Darren Pomeroy, 21
Student pilot, Vancouver

"I do not see a problem with immigration—we need the population, and diversity is what makes Canada great. When I look at the situation in places like Somalia, I don't see how we can refuse to help out."



George Crook, 45
Electronics technician, Okotoks, Alta.

"A good mixture of people makes for a good mixture of ideas. The reason they come here is to better themselves the same way my ancestors did."

Percentage of respondents who say that the increase in the number of non-white immigrants is a "bad" or a "very bad" thing

BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION



BY AGE



BY COMMUNITY SIZE



THE CONSTITUTION

THE NEW CANADA

ESSAY BY ALLAN R. GREGG

When the writs were issued in mid-September for the Oct. 26 referendum, few would have guessed that the Yes option would be so roundly rejected by a majority of Canadians. Certainly the polls at that time gave little indication that the referendum would form a lightning rod for the otherwise unfocused dissent that had become so prevalent in public opinion over the previous year.

After conducting dozens of focus groups and tens of thousands of interviews during the period covering the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords, you would think the craft of public opinion polling would have given us clearer indicators of the fate that lay in store for both agreements.

A leading pollster offers sage advice to those seeking constitutional reform: forget it

In hindsight, clues were in evidence, we simply did not understand what they meant at the time. And the reason we failed to decipher them was that some of our findings did not correspond with the historic picture of Canadian political culture and the conventional wisdom surrounding Canadian public opinion.

Our history books tell us that Canada has been governed through a process of elite accommodation: the country's leaders define the public interest unfettered by the messy need to consult the public, and the masses heartedly (if not actively) endorse their decisions. Yet week after week, our polls displayed an English-Canadian population completely unmoved by the almost unanimous exhortations of their traditional leaders. In fact, while public opinion in English Canada did not move at all during the Meech Lake debate, it actually reversed itself and moved away from articulated elite opinion during the referendum campaign.

Similarly, the traditional view of Quebec is of a province uniquely capable of evaluating its collective interests and shifting its vote as one to maximize its gains from the political process. Indeed, for all of the talk among anglophones of the emotionalism of French-Canadians, all past evidence indicated that Quebecers, far from being governed by passion, most often displayed a ruthless and pragmatic ability to calculate their advantage—and a collective will to press it. Flying in the face of this experience, the words we heard most often during our weekly focus groups on the Constitution were "humiliation" and "betrayal"—as if the discussion was about unrequited love and not profitable federalism.

Finally, Canadian scholars, historians and pop psychologists alike have differentiated Canadian from American culture by pointing to our supposed "collectivist impulse"—an impulse that has given birth to such national institutions as the CBC and Petro-Canada (not to mention the New Democratic Party). Canada, in this perspective, is a nation where individual responsibility takes precedence over individual rights and where the collective good forms the basis for defining public needs. Against this, the Canadians we surveyed justified their decision to vote No in the referendum by complaining that the Charlottetown agreement was "unfair," or "created different classes of Canadians" or simply was "against individual rights."

If those findings confused us and flew in the face of our conventional understanding of how Canadians were supposed to behave, it took us even longer to realize that at the heart of the public's rejection of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown agreements was a fundamental shift in how Canadians see themselves and each other.

In this year's *Maclean's*/CTV poll, we put two opposing views of Canada to our sample: "Do you tend to view Canada as a pact between two founding peoples, English and French; or as a relationship among 10 equal provinces." Significantly, almost seven out of 10 reject the primary principle upon which the nation was founded—namely, that Canada was a contract between English and French, where each other's rights would be recognized explicitly in our laws and national institutions.

In short, the majority No vote represented not simply a rejection of elites, but a rejection of the elites' traditional view of our country.

Moreover, there is little evidence that another kick at the constitutional cat will "bring the masses to their senses" or cause them to adopt views that are more in accord with their leaders. When the 68 per cent who said that Canada was a relationship among 10 equal provinces were asked if they would be prepared to accept a constitutional agreement whose most important feature was the recognition of a pact between English and French, a majority in every region of English Canada reported that they would not.

Curiously, while four in 10 Quebecers cling to the more traditional two-nations view of Canada, a majority, even in that province, supports the 10-equal-partners credo. Unlike English Canada, however, this majority *would* accept a future Constitution based on two founding nations, while the smaller, two-nations group would not endorse a Constitution featuring 10 equal provinces.

In short, the differences appear irreconcilable. At the very least, we might logically conclude that any new constitutional package that is predicated primarily on a partnership between English and French will be doomed to failure in English Canada. Conversely, a new proposal founded on the principle of equal provincial partnership will surely create fissures and debate in Quebec that are unlikely to produce any kind of consensus in that province.

What lies ahead for constitutional reform then?

We asked our sample. Almost six in 10 fired back. "Forget about any constitutional changes or amendments for the foreseeable future."

Given our findings, that advice would probably be wisely taken.

Allan R. Gregg is president and chief executive officer of Decima Research and was chief pollster for the Yes committee in the Oct. 26 referendum campaign.



NICK FISCHER

How do you view Canada? *Excludes "no opinion"*

As a pact between two founding groups, English and French: 31%

As a relationship among 10 equal provinces: 69

Percentage who view Canada as 10 equal provinces:

Quebec: 56 — Rest of Canada: 73

(Among Canadians who view Canada as a pact between French and English)

Would you accept or reject a future constitutional deal if it was based on the concept of Canada as 10 equal provinces?

Accept: 69% — Reject: 31

(Among Canadians who view Canada as 10 equal provinces)

Would you accept or reject a future constitutional deal if it was based on the concept of Canada as a pact between French and English?

Accept: 46% — Reject: 54

Q: Should Ottawa and the provinces resume constitutional negotiations?



Daniel Pelletier, 32
Assistant office manager
Sept-Iles, Que.

"Yes, but not on a grand scale. We should clarify the situation with native people and sort out the areas where there is duplication and governments are in each other's hair. That just creates waste."



Nizar Waljal, 52
Retail executive,
Calgary

"I'm in favor of new negotiations. The Charlottetown accord was a one-sided agreement in favor of Quebec. But maybe now that the people have spoken there will be more willingness to compromise."



Mavis Lanz, 59
Farmer
Medicine Hat

"We should forget about the Constitution and get back to honesty and traditional values. The basic problem with Canada and our politicians is that we have forgotten about the Bible."



Judy Fergusson, 46
Homemaker
Kamloops, B.C.

"My main concern is the cost of the process. I was an enumerator in the referendum and I saw how much money it cost. If they tried again, the result would likely be the same and more money would be wasted."



Among respondents who think the economy is getting worse

More proud of Canada: 15%

Less proud of Canada: 35

Among Canadians who think the economy is improving

More proud of Canada: 29%

Less proud of Canada: 18

Given the reaction to the Charlottetown constitutional proposals in the Oct. 26 referendum, what should the federal government and the provinces do now?

Resume negotiations in order to achieve a new constitutional package: 13%

Implement a series of separate agreements in the areas covered in the Charlottetown accord: 21

Forget about any constitutional changes for the foreseeable future: 59

No opinion: 2

Percentage favoring a new round of federal-provincial negotiations:

Quebec: 25

Rest of Canada: 15

Percentage who say politicians should forget about constitutional change

Quebec: 49

Rest of Canada: 62

Income group most likely to favor new negotiations: under $30,000

Least likely: $70,000 and over

MACLEAN'S / CTV POLL

Fantasies

SURF, SAND AND SEX

Ivan Boesky, once Wall Street's most infamous inside trader, is enjoying good health, new wealth and a satisfying sex life. Out of jail after serving a two-year sentence and living in La Jolla, Calif., Boesky, 55, is portrayed by associates as a hedonist who spends his days weightlifting and cavorting with "young girls" in his mountaintop home, while cashing monthly $15,000 alimony cheques from his wealthy ex-wife. Boesky, some people might say, has it all. But a *Maclean's*/CTV poll by Decima Research found that if Canadians had only one wish, 39 per cent would choose inner peace and happiness, ahead of financial security or staying young and healthy. And even though sexual images are ubiquitous in everything from beer and car advertisements to rock videos, a mere one per cent of respondents said that they wished to increase their own sexual attractiveness.

While baby boomers dream of personal fulfilment, their children long for cold, hard cash

But age has a great bearing on desires. Inner peace matters little to younger Canadians between the ages of 18 and 24. Entering a dismal job market, young Canadians are those most eager to grasp financial security. They leave the dreams of personal fulfilment to the baby boomers, graduates of the idealistic Sixties who throughout most of their lives have reaped the benefits of an expanding economy—but who are still searching for satisfaction. Meanwhile, respondents aged 65 and older were most likely to choose youth and health, and only half as likely as young Canadians to wish for financial security—statistical proof that the older people get, the more they subscribe to the adage that money does not bring happiness.

In investigating fantasies, the *Maclean's*/CTV poll also asked Canadians what kind of sex they preferred. Most Canadians offered conventional responses, overwhelmingly preferring either soft-and-sweet romance, a spontaneous act or a friendly encounter. Only five per cent said that they liked their sex to be either "kinky" or "a little bit rough," and that group was almost exclusively young, single—and male. Singles were four times as likely as married respondents to prefer rough sex, and five times as likely to favor kinky—the term was not defined—sex. The poll reinforced another stereotype, as well: far more francophone than anglophone respondents preferred romantic sex.

But romance was cast aside when respondents were asked to name the celebrity sex partner of their dreams. Madonna topped the fantasy list for men in English Canada, although her professed bisexuality did not appeal to any women respondents, who chose Mel Gibson ahead of fellow actors Tom Cruise, Patrick Swayze and Kevin Costner. On the other hand, one woman opted for an affair with model Cindy Crawford, while one male respondent expressed a preference for Mel Gibson. Other celebrities mentioned ranged from athletes (Michael Jordan and Eric Lindros) to active politicians (Bill Clinton), retired politicians (Pierre Trudeau) and political spouses (Mila Mulroney).

But when it came to choosing where they would indulge their fantasy encounters, respondents shunned exotic choices such as hot-air balloons, and fairly blushed at the prospect of the back seat of a car or office desk. Instead, more than half pictured themselves in the kind of setting immortalized by Burt Lancaster and Deborah Kerr in the 1953 classic *From Here To Eternity* on a deserted beach, rolling in the surf and sand. Canadians have limited imaginations when it comes to sexual dreams, but at least they have the good sense to want to live out their fantasies in a warmer climate.

BRUCE WALLACE

If you had one wish, what would it be?

Inner peace and happiness	39%
To maintain my youth and health	30
Financial security	29
Increased sexual attractiveness	1

Top three wishes among respondents aged 18 to 24:

1. Financial security
2. Youth and health
3. Inner peace and happiness

Among respondents aged 35 to 44:

1. Inner peace and happiness
2. Youth and health
3. Financial security

Among respondents 65 and older:

1. Youth and health
2. Inner peace and happiness
3. Financial security

Income group most likely to choose youth and health: $70,000 and over

Income group most likely to choose increased sexual attractiveness: less than $10,000

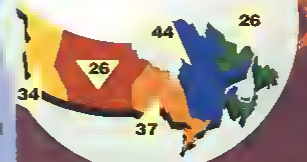
Percentage who chose financial security, by region.

British Columbia
Prairies
Ontario
Quebec
Atlantic

Percentage who chose youth and health, by region.

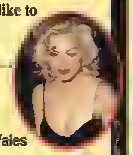
British Columbia
Prairies
Ontario
Quebec
Atlantic

Percentage of respondents, by region, who prefer romantic sex:



LIONEL DREW

Top 4 celebrities Canadians outside Quebec would most like to have an affair with:



MEN
1. Madonna
2. Cindy Crawford
3. Kim Basinger
4. Diana, Princess of Wales



WOMEN
1. Mel Gibson
2. Tom Cruise/ Patrick Swayze (tied)
3. Kevin Costner
4. Tom Selleck

Top choice among Quebec men: pop singer **Julie Masse**
Top choice among Quebec women: pop singer **Roch Voisine**

At which of the following places would you most like to have sex with this person?

On a deserted beach	32%
In a hot tub	24
In a hot-air balloon	8
At home plate at Toronto's SkyDome	6
In the backseat of a car	4
On an office desk	4

Excludes "no opinion"



What kind of sex do you enjoy most?

Romantic, with soft music and low lights	38%
Spontaneous, on the spur of the moment	31
Friendly and very familiar	21
Planned, something I have looked forward to	7
Kinky	2
A little bit rough	2

Favorite type of sex among people with annual household incomes under $40,000: *Romantic*

Among people with incomes over $40,000: *Spontaneous*

Q: If you had one wish, what would it be?



Helen Thornton, 42
Retired nurse, Saint John, N.B.

"Because I have multiple sclerosis I think it's very important to have inner peace. If you can accept yourself, you can handle all of the stress of living."



James Goulet, 55
Retired teacher Calahoo, Alta.

"In this day and age, so many people think that material things are what count. But I believe it is the little things in life, like spending time with your family, that give you happiness."



Nancy Lutes, 22
University student, Wolfville, N.S.

"I would like to be financially secure. My parents have been able to get what they want, but I wonder if I ever will. I'm in my final year of university and I'm looking at the job market, and it isn't great."



Charles Doregi, 37
Self-employed trucker Burlington, Ont.

"Youth and health are important to me. I'm a macrobiotic vegetarian, and I believe that working to create a balance in your life will make the world a better place."

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 24 who like sex "friendly and very familiar": 10

Of those aged 55 to 64: 30

Percentage of singles who say they prefer "kinky" or "rough" sex: 11

Of married people: 2

Percentage of Canadians of British, Irish or northern European descent who say they enjoy romantic sex most of all: 33

Of French-Canadian or French descent: 45

BEST OF 1992

INTRIGUING LINKS

"Please leave them alone. Please, please, please."
—Lady Tryon, a friend of Prince Charles, shortly before his announced separation from Diana, the Princess of Wales

Journalists are unlikely to comply with that request. After all, sales of British tabloids soar with each new whiff of royal scandal. When London's *Daily Mirror* published photographs of the Duchess of York, the estranged wife of Prince Andrew, cavorting topless with a 37-year-old business executive, the morning paper's entire press run of 3.6 million copies was snapped up by 9 a.m. And the British are not alone in their apparently insatiable appetite for royal scandal. The *Maclean's*/CTV poll found that, among five recent stories about famous people, 37 per cent of Canadians said that they were most interested in the marital problems of either Prince Charles—the survey was conducted shortly before his formal separation from Diana—or Andrew. Said pollster Michael Sullivan, a senior vice-president of Decima: "There's still some mystique about royalty, and everyone is interested in a good divorce story." At the same time, many Canadians object to the media's hungry pursuit of royal gossip. Declared Sullivan: "It's a wonderful contradiction. Canadians blame the media for the exposé—but they're fascinated nonetheless."

The survey reveals a connection between the news people consume and their sex lives

In fact, the only story that attracted as much attention as the royals was basketball star Earvin (Magic) Johnson's announcement that he had tested positive for the human immunodeficiency virus that causes AIDS. The six-foot, nine-inch guard retired from the Los Angeles Lakers in November, 1991. But his decision to play in the Summer Olympics in Barcelona, his return to the Lakers in September and his decision last month to retire again have clearly stoked Canadians' interest. Another 23 per cent said that they were most interested in boxer Mike Tyson's trial—and subsequent conviction—last February, on charges of raping a young beauty pageant contestant. The story that attracted the least attention was movie director Woody Allen's breakup with actress Mia Farrow after her discovery that he was having an affair with one of her adopted daughters.

Older Canadians and those who describe themselves as "not very sexually active" were most likely to say that they found the royal stories most fascinating. Younger Canadians and those who describe themselves as "very sexually active" were more likely to choose Mike Tyson or Magic Johnson. Said Sullivan: "Among the older segment of the population, many people still remember the Royal Family with a good deal of affection and deference. Younger people are more interested in Magic Johnson because they may be more sexually active and more interested in sports." For many women, Sullivan said, the Tyson case "is a rape story—and justice is being done." But men—who, the poll indicates, are more than twice as likely as women to be interested in sports—may see it differently. Said Sullivan: "They're interested because the former heavyweight champion of the world is on trial."

Comparisons of those results with the responses to questions about Canadians' sexual tastes produced some curious results. They were more likely to say that they prefer "kinky" sex if they were interested in the Woody Allen story; "romantic" sex if they were interested in Prince Andrew and Fergie; "planned" sex if they were interested in Charles and Diana, "spontaneous" sex if they were interested in Magic Johnson, and most likely to prefer sex "a little bit rough" if they were interested in the Mike Tyson rape case. Although the numbers of respondents in some of those groups were too small to have much statistical significance, they do point up an intriguing link between what people watch on the nightly news—and what they do after they turn off the set.

MARY NEMETH

Which of the following news stories did you follow with the most interest?

The Oct. 26 constitutional referendum	47%
The recession	20
The U.S. presidential election	15
The civil war in Yugoslavia	11
The famine in Somalia	4
No opinion/none of the above	3

Percentage of respondents who cited the U.S. presidential election as the top news story who would like their province to become part of the United States: **27**

Percentage of those choosing the Oct. 26 referendum who said that: **17**

Percentage of respondents who cited the U.S. presidential election as the top news story who named Bill Clinton as their favorite politician: **33**

Percentage of respondents who cited the Oct. 26 referendum as the top news story who named Brian Mulroney as their favorite politician: **10**



SAM SISCO

Top 3 athletes:

1. Wayne Gretzky
2. Mario Lemieux
3. Roberto Alomar/ Sylvie Fréchette (tie)

Q: Which recent story about prominent people did you find most fascinating?



...lorraine Woolridge, 25
...Student, Mount Pearl, Nfld

...: Mike Tyson

"It shows that celebrities ...re just as human as the ...est of society. They ...on't get away with ...oing certain things"



Garth Langdon, 71
Retired auditor, Vancouver

A: Charles and Diana

"The future of the Royal Family depends upon a lot of this. Of course the press should mind their own business"



...uzanne Sullivan, 45
...ookkeeper, Brampton, Ont.

...: Magic Johnson

"When Magic Johnson ...e forth, it made people ...ere that, yes, it can ...ppen, whether you're ...ale or female, white ...ck, anything. It was a ...of a nudge for people ...be more cautious"

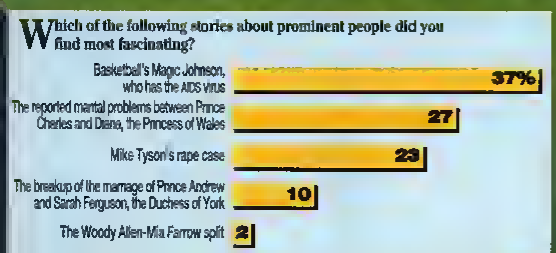


Paula Devereux, 24
Radiation therapist, Saskatoon

A: Magic Johnson

"I admire him for how he's handling it, what he's doing with public education about HIV and AIDS. I think some people are starting to realize that it's not just a disease that homosexuals get, and it shouldn't be labelled as that."

Which of the following stories about prominent people did you find most fascinating?



Percentage of respondents aged 18-24 who chose Charles and Diana: **15**

Percentage of respondents aged 65 or older who chose Charles and Diana: **53**

Percentage of respondents aged 18-24 who chose either Magic Johnson or Mike Tyson: **74**

Percentage of respondents aged 65 or older who chose either Magic Johnson or Mike Tyson: **34**

Excludes "no opinion"

Which of the following sports stories did you follow with most interest?

Toronto Blue Jays winning the World Series	53%
Summer Olympics in Barcelona	21
Winter Olympics in Albertville, France	10
National Hockey League players' strike	4
Eric Lindros joining the NHL Philadelphia Flyers	4
Don't follow sports/none of the above	8

Percentage of Ontario residents who named the Blue Jays' World Series victory as the top sports story: **74**
Of Quebecers: **14**

Percentage of Quebecers who named the Summer Olympics as the top sports story: **42**
Of respondents in the rest of Canada: **13**

Income group that was most likely to name the Blue Jays' World Series victory as the top sports story: **$70,000 and over**
That was least likely: **under $10,000**

Which of the following have you found most interesting over the past year?



Percentage of respondents aged 18-24 who chose sports: **22**
Of those 25 and older: **12**

Percentage of those without a high-school diploma who chose local news: **26**
Of those who attended university: **11**

Percentage of respondents earning $40,000 or more who say they follow economic news most closely: **26**
Of those earning less than $40,000: **17**

FALLING EXPECTATIONS

IN AN ERA OF SLOW GROWTH, CANADIANS ARE LEARNING THAT THE FUTURE IS NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE



"I don't think the recovery will be sudden, but as the United States moves out of recession we will experience an improvement."

—Poll respondent
Pyati Bagchee, 31
Research assistant, Toronto

BARRY WEBB/MACLEAN'S

Eileen Oldford is a professional optimist. As the executive director of a business development program on economically depressed Cape Breton Island, Oldford has made a career of looking on the bright side of the bleakest conditions. Over the past several years, the island's key industries—coal mining, steel and fishing—have steadily eroded, driving unemployment in the region to more than 20 per cent—well above the 11.8-per-cent national average. In 1987, in an effort to create jobs and break the decades-old cycle of dependence on government handouts, Oldford and several associates helped to form a YMCA Enterprise Centre in Glace Bay, N.S. "People on Cape Breton aren't looking to get rich quick—they're trying to survive with dignity," she says. But even the most determinedly positive attitude cannot eclipse the foreboding that Cape Bretoners feel about the coming year—a year in which another coal mine is scheduled to close, throwing 350 people out of work. "People here are used to economic hardship and the need to be resourceful," notes Stewart Perry, chief executive of the Centre for Community Economic Development in Sydney, N.S. "But we all realize this time around is very different."

Indeed, profound concern about economic prospects over the next decade is something that unites Canadians across the country. More than 61 per cent of those questioned in the *Maclean's*/CTV poll by Decima Research expressed the conviction that Canada's economy will remain weak, and the job market will be tight, throughout the 1990s. According to Lindsay Meredith, a professor with the faculty of business administration at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., the protracted grind of Canada's economic recession, highlighted by weekly reports of new layoffs and plant closures, has had a corrosive effect on the collective psychology of Canadians. "We're on the verge of a national crisis of self-confidence," says Meredith. "People are discouraged and demoralized, and that diminishes their capacity to respond to fresh opportunity."

Just before it closed its own doors in June because of a lack of government funding, the Ottawa-based Economic Council of Canada released a study that helps to explain why Canadians are so uneasy about the future. According to the council's report, Canada's high industrial costs and lagging productivity mean that it now takes 35 years for real national income to double—twice as long as it took 20 years ago. The study added that while income per capita after inflation grew by four per cent annually a generation ago, increases over the past decade have been negligible. As well, a recent Statistics Canada survey revealed that the average Canadian family earned 2.6 per cent less in 1991 than in the previous year. The agency also noted that higher taxes and inflation had eroded about 40 per cent of the income gains made since the last recession in 1981-1982.

It was all a lot simpler in the 1950s and 1960s, when the baby boom generation was growing up amid unprecedented prosperity and economic growth. Thirty years ago, a single paycheque bought a house in the suburbs, a car and annual vacations for a typical Canadian family. But in the decades since then, the number of industrialized countries around the globe has expanded rapidly. And at a time when once-backward nations such as South Korea, Taiwan and Mexico are becoming efficient, low-cost industrial producers, North America's traditional advantages are rapidly being eclipsed. "This is not just a cyclical production slump—it's real loss of pricing leverage," says Jayson Myers, chief economist with the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (CMA) in Toronto. "Intense international competition has pushed prices down at the same time as Canada's production costs have climbed." In addition to high labor costs, Canadian companies have been saddled with steep tax increases and rapidly rising telecommunication and transportation costs. Until recently, that situation was exacerbated by an overvalued Canadian dollar.

Canada's situation is especially dire, according to Myers, because 45 per cent of Canadian production is currently geared for highly competitive export markets. At the same time, the global trend towards freer trade has forced domestic suppliers to compete with cheaper imported goods. Consequently, according to statistics gathered by the CMA, only 55 per cent of goods consumed in Canada are manufactured domestically, down from 73 per cent in 1980. With dwindling demand at home and booming markets abroad, Canadian companies are looking elsewhere for growth opportunities—opening plants and creating jobs in foreign countries, where labor is cheaper and demand is on the rise. In a recent interview, Wayne McLeod, chief executive of Toronto-based CCL Industries Inc., told *Maclean's* that his company, which manufactures cosmetics and cleaning products, "wants a toehold wherever there is growth in the consump-

How satisfied are you with your economic situation right now?

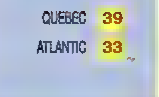


Percentage "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied":

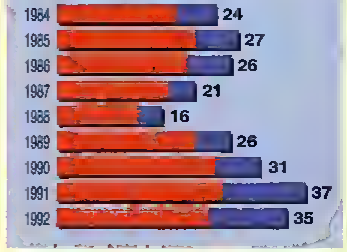
BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION



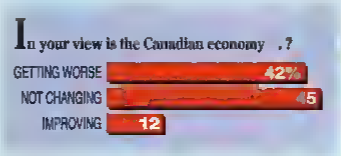
BY REGION:



Percentage "dissatisfied" or "very dissatified":



In your view is the Canadian economy ...?





Respondents who said that the economy seems to be getting worse were more likely than others to say that.

- Brian Mulroney's government is to blame for the slow recovery
- politicians are interested only in helping themselves
- their favorite political leader is Preston Manning or Bill Clinton
- children being born now will be worse off than their parents
- the behavior of young people is deteriorating
- they feel more threatened by crime now than five years ago
- they are afraid to walk outside alone at night
- the increase in non-white immigration over the past 20 years is a bad thing

Respondents who said that the economy seems to be getting better were more likely than others to say that.

- global economic trends are responsible for the slow recovery
- people expect too much of politicians
- their favorite political leader is Brian Mulroney or Jean Chrétien
- they are more proud of Canada now than five years ago
- they would support new constitutional negotiations
- ethnic relations in their community have improved over the past five years
- they feel less threatened by crime now than five years ago
- the increase in non-white immigration over the past 20 years is a good thing

tion of consumer products." He added, "It's got absolutely nothing to do with free trade and everything to do with declining mature markets."

The inescapable result of that trend, however, is that many of the jobs lost in this recession will never return. Moreover, the sharp drop in investment at existing Canadian plants poses a future threat. Myers notes that where manufacturers are cutting costs, they are not reinvesting the savings in new equipment. "Because of the rapid pace of change, Canada is losing out on a whole generation of technology," he says. "That means we'll be in worse competitive shape than ever."

Canadian companies are not alone in facing the fallout from global restructuring. In the United States, even though the manufacturing sector grew by 35,000 jobs in November, companies are increasingly shifting production offshore and awarding contracts for a variety of functions—from data processing to tool and die making—to independent suppliers at home and abroad. Technological advances have helped to reinforce that trend because outside suppliers can now easily be integrated into internal communications and production systems.

The current restructuring of Canada's economic base may also leave behind a painful social legacy. Among economists, there is widespread talk of a polarization between skilled white-collar workers and unskilled blue-collar workers. Since 1989, more than 350,000 manufacturing jobs have disappeared—and to date, unskilled workers have borne the brunt of layoffs and salary rollbacks in Canada. Says William Watson, an economics professor at McGill University in Montreal: "It's classic international trade theory at work. The act of removing trade barriers marginalizes the lower end of the labor force in more developed countries."

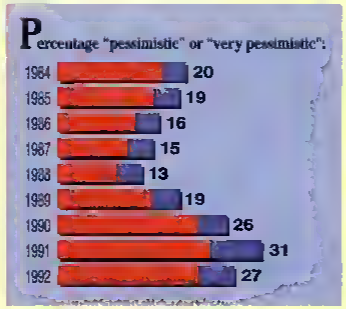
The polarization between high- and low-income Canadians is also reflected in their perspective on trade issues. In the *Maclean's*/CTV poll, 43 per cent of respondents blamed the federal government for Canada's current economic problems, while 20 per cent blamed free trade. Significantly, opposition to free trade was highest among the least educated and lowest paid categories of respondents—groups that economists say are most vulnerable to the effects of globalization. Respondents with higher salaries and education levels—in general, the least likely to lose jobs to cheaper foreign labor—were more inclined to say that Canada has suffered because of worldwide economic forces and because its businesses and workers lag behind others in international competitiveness.

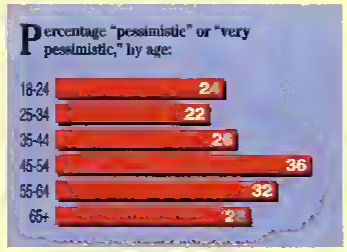
Another pronounced difference in economic views occurs among age groups. While the adjustment to slower growth clearly affects all Canadians, those born in the two decades following the Second World War, the so-called baby boom generation, have suffered the greatest psychological impact. Notes Meredith: "The boomers are bummed out. They grew up with expectations and they were well on the way to realizing them when we hit the wall." He adds, "It's always worse to have it taken away than to have never had it in the first place." By contrast, Meredith says his current crop of business students have lower material expectations than their counterparts a decade ago—and they fully anticipate fierce competition for jobs after graduation.

The crash of economic expectations has provoked changes in the political arena, as well. Among the most important is a newfound willingness on the part of Canadians to reject the directives of those in authority. "The notion that governments have the ability and the wisdom to steer the economy is being dispelled," says Richard Woodward, a finance professor at the University of Calgary. "The growing view is that the government is just an economic facilitator that provides the appropriate infrastructure for prosperity." In fact, 53 per cent of poll respondents indicated that they look to the business sector to safeguard their economic interests, while only 27 per cent look to government and 13 per cent to unions. That pattern has held more or less steady in *Maclean's* polls since 1989, before which the largest number of respondents looked to governments to care for their interests.

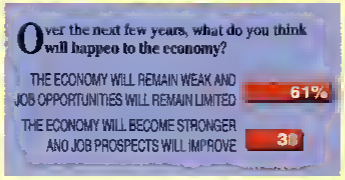
The loss of faith in political leaders has extended, in some cases, to labor. As the economic picture has darkened, adversarial labor-management relations have given way to voluntary wage and benefit reductions, as workers—and their leaders—struggle to preserve jobs. In August, just six months after the employees of troubled Canadian Airlines International Ltd. of Calgary refused management pleas for salary concessions, they took











the initiative themselves to rescue the company from bankruptcy. In recent weeks, workers at an Ottawa-based bus line, Voyageur Colonial Ltd., voted to take a 50-per-cent cut in scheduled pay increases to help reduce costs and foot the bill for a pricing complaint against Via Rail Canada Inc. of Montreal. At the same time, 2,400 steelworkers at Montreal's Sidbec-Dosco agreed to 10-per-cent pay cuts and the elimination of 300 jobs to keep their employer afloat.

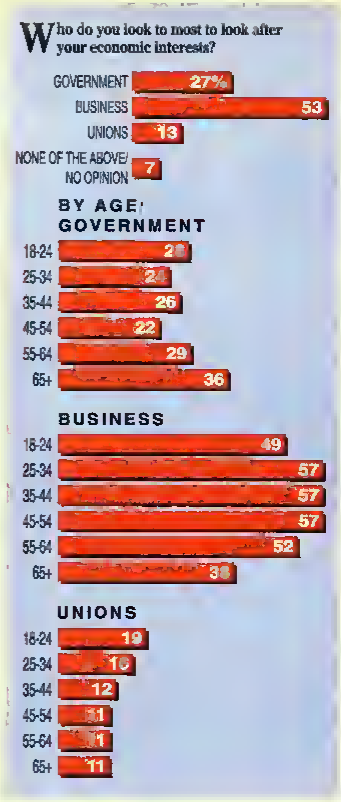
For his part, Myers says that he detects a shift away from the entrenched "entitlement mentality" of Canadians, a trend that suggests they are more likely to depend on their own efforts rather than the direction of others. "We've turned too often to government and labor leaders for basic answers," says Myers. "We are too inclined to resist change."

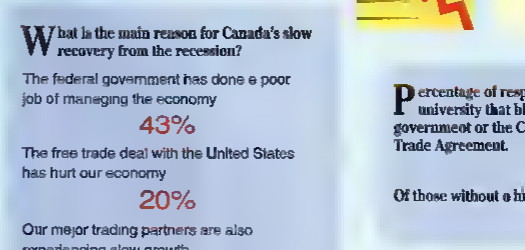
The Bank of Montreal's chief economist Lloyd Atkinson voiced similar concerns in mid-December when he released his 1993 forecast. Atkinson bluntly characterized one of Canada's primary economic problems as "too much pogey, too little training." He also noted that "a huge change in thinking" about unemployment insurance, welfare and regional development will have to take place before fundamental economic problems can be addressed.

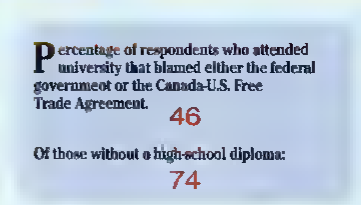
Despite the bleak and increasingly unfamiliar economic landscape, some experts say that the current mood of collective despair may be more constructive than continued denial. They add that as Canadians finally accept that economic conditions will not return to their previous state, and that government initiatives can no longer be relied on to solve deeply rooted problems of competitiveness, conditions will gradually begin to improve. Meredith, for one, notes that business students are now flocking to enrol in courses about entrepreneurship and small business. "Lifelong security with a big company is no longer an option. Students realize they've got to be creative to survive," he says. He and others say that today's young generation, along with retrained workers from the industrial sector, will likely go on to create a more diversified—and less vulnerable—Canadian economy. Perhaps, in time, even the ranks of economic optimists, like Eileen Oldfield, will gain new members.

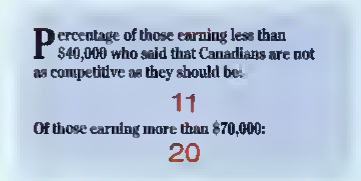
DEIRDRE McMURDY





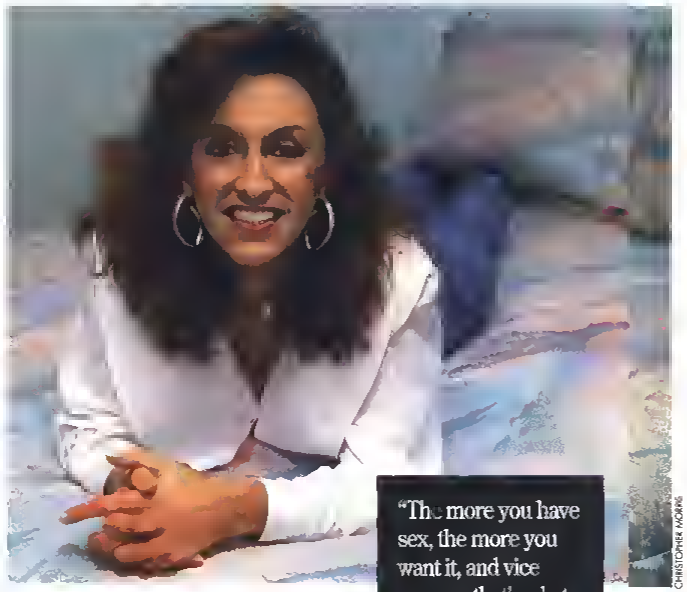






AN AGE OF CAUTION

CONDOM SALES ARE UP AND MONOGAMY IS BACK IN STYLE—WELCOME TO THE PERILOUS NINETIES



CHRISTOPHER MORRIS

You just give you Canadians a chance to take your clothes off and you're happy
—Humphrey Bogart as Richard Lomas Leland in the 1942 film *Across the Pacific*

Oh, that it were all so straightforward. Fifty years after Bogart's American soldier uttered those words to Mary Astor's fashion designer from Medicine Hat, Alta., the simple act of disrobing—at least for the purpose of having fun—has become a downright complicated affair. With AIDS casting a big chill on the warmth of sex, with economic uncertainty weighing heavy on people's minds, and with debates over date rape, pornography and abortion peppering the headlines, Canadians could hardly be blamed for refusing to climb into bed in 1992 without first grabbing a parka, an electronic pager and a copy of the Criminal Code. Even so, the nation seemed to be rolling with the punches rather well, and, according to those who study sex and sexuality, Bogart's words—perhaps with minor modifications—continue to describe Canadians. Rather than turning away from sex, many people are re-evaluating their attitudes to it and rethinking its place in their lives. "There really is a new age dawning," says Vancouver sex therapist Blenda Steward, "a revolution of sexual self-awareness and excitement."

According to Steward and others, the grim complexities of contemporary sexual and economic life have in fact prompted many people to cast off shopworn platitudes that have long stood in the way of good sex. In a world where AIDS is a fact of life, people are finally starting to question whether promiscuity is proof of virility, whether intercourse is really the best part of making love, whether the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence. And at a time when the economy offers little in the way of financial security, more and more couples are turning inward to build a refuge from the recessionary storm. "People see that in the outside world there really is no promise of a rose garden," says Toronto psychiatrist and sex therapist Frank Sommers, "so they're growing one in the bedroom."

That conclusion is underscored by the findings of this year's *Maclean's*/CTV poll. Fully 51 per cent of those surveyed agreed with the view that, because of the widespread fear of AIDS, Canadians are now having less sex outside of steady, long-term relationships. Of those, slightly more than half said that they thought people are "thinking a lot more about sex." Significantly, the poll also indicates that Canadians are buying and using many more condoms since *Maclean's* last asked about condom use in a 1989 year-end poll. In the latest poll, 22 per cent of those who responded to the question said that they used condoms "often" or "always"—compared with 14 per cent three years ago.

> "The more you have sex, the more you want it, and vice versa—that's what the libido is like. But with AIDS, one has to think about the risk."
>
> *—Poll respondent Thérèse Laurin, 37 Accountant, Salaberry, Que.*

On a broader level, arguments continued to explode in 1992 about the parameters of acceptable sexual behavior, and about the role of the state in policing one of life's most private aspects. In the same year that the mantra of "family values" failed to persuade U.S. voters to return a Republican to the White House, the Supreme Court of Canada delivered what many experts consider the most conservative anti-pornography ruling in the Western world. As the Roman Catholic Church officially reiterated its stance against homosexuality in a new catechism, the film *Basic Instinct*, starring Sharon Stone as an ice-pick wielding bisexual, made $70 million in its first month at the box office. And at a time when many traditionalists continued to interpret AIDS as a warning about the dangers of straying from the straight and monogamous, Madonna took the publishing world by storm with *Sex*, a 128-page $60 joyride through the rock star's predominantly lesbian, sado-masochistic fantasies.

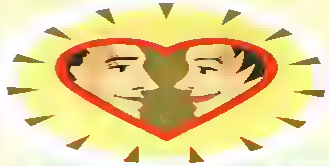
But as politicians, clerics and celebrities worked overtime to stake a claim on the contentious turf of sexuality, it was, in many ways, ordinary people who were quietly redefining the rules and rituals of sex. And what many of them are struggling to do, it appears, is to surmount the obstacles that stand in the way of genuine sexual satisfaction. "People are not just concentrating on the problem areas, but are also trying to figure out how they can enhance their sex lives," says Edward Herold, co-ordinator of the annual Guelph Sexuality Conference at the University of Guelph in Ontario. "They want to know how sex can become a *positive* force in their lives."

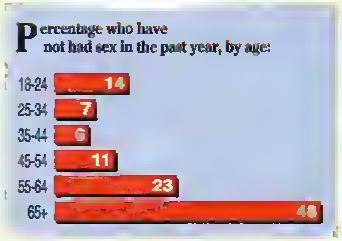
For many people, that means restoring lust to long-term relationships. "A lot of people who only a few years ago might have constantly been on the lookout for new partners are now thinking twice about the big, bad sexual world," says Sommers. As well he adds, in the wake of the economically overheated 1980s, when many people put the concerns of the boardroom before those of the bedroom, couples are now finally taking the time to concentrate "not only on the quality of life in general, but on the quality of their sex lives." To help some of his own patients make that transition, Sommers guides them through a series of sessions designed, he says, "to train them to switch tracks and slow down," and to help them tune into aspects of lovemaking—such as kissing and caressing—that play down the importance of intercourse itself.

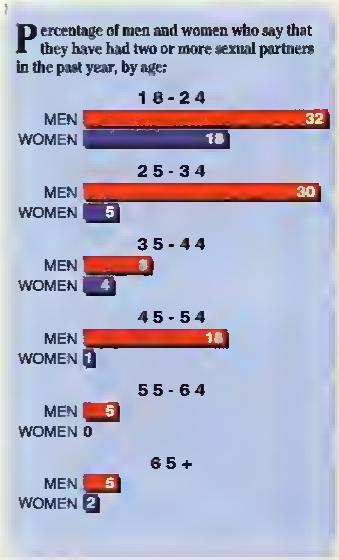
Indeed, for those determined to reinvent monogamy, aspects of sex once considered second-string are becoming downright popular. In the past, says Vancouver's Steward, who has a master's degree in counselling and has worked at Indiana's Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, it was a cliché that "sex opened the men's eyes and closed the women's, while intimacy worked the other way around." Now, she says, men are increasingly tuning into the more subtle stages of sexual arousal—and are relieved to be free of the tyranny of erection and ejaculation. The result, she contends, is better sex all round. "When women feel that their mates really want them to be happy and loved, they let go of their fear of letting go," says Steward. "When they can do that," she adds, "they experience something on which their husbands once held a lonely monopoly—the pleasure of orgasm."

Still, even for couples determined to learn the fine art of mutual gratification, the pressures of day-to-day life can present formidable obstacles to good sex. "Too many people still think they can work all day and just jump into bed and be romantic," says Gail Robinson, director of the program in women's mental health at The Toronto Hospital. "They forget that they need to leave the world behind." And the constant demands of running a household can also thwart the best of sexual intentions. "It's easy to *know* you should have romance and courtship and wooing and energy," says Sue Johanson, a sexual counsellor who hosts popular phone-in radio and TV programs that air in various parts of Canada. "But then your partner forgets to pick up the dry cleaning and you have to take the car in for a grease job, and the kids have been screaming all day."









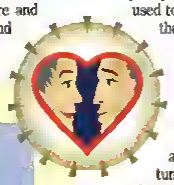
For those who have been hit hard by tough economic times—losing a job or a business—the sexual fallout can be heavy. "A lot of people equate their occupation and income with self-esteem," says John Lamont, director of the Sexual Medicine Unit at the Henderson General Hospital's McMaster University Clinic in Hamilton, Ont. "To lose that major focus is bound to effect one's sexual self-confidence." In fact, the *Maclean's*/CTV poll indicates that there is a strong correlation between household income and frequency of sexual activity. The share of the sample that reported having sex six or more times a month was 47 per cent among those earning between $10,000 and $39,999, 58 per cent among those between $40,000 and $69,999 and 62 per cent among those earning more than $70,000.

Vancouver's Steward, for her part, notes that, since the onset of the recession, more men have come to her with sexual problems. "Many men become sexually impotent," she says, "because they feel they

cannot perform in the outside world." For others, economic pressures lead to problems of premature ejaculation. "If a man is struggling to get back into the workforce, and going nowhere fast," says Steward, "he is apt to get into that frenetic pace in the bedroom, too."

Hard times also can play havoc with the fragile balance of energy and desire that is the foundation of a sound, satisfying sex life. "One of the worst scenarios is when a man loses his job and is home all day watching soap operas, while his wife is out working," says Johanson. "When she comes in the door, the first thing he wants to do is jump in the sack—and that is the last thing she's into at that point."

And almost everyone's sex life, say the experts, is to some degree a victim of society's continuing refusal to teach people how to talk openly and frankly about their sexual needs. "We see more and more sensationalized sexuality in the movies and the media every day, but then we stop there—we depend on those things to educate people," says Robinson. The result, she adds, is that "although society is supposedly becoming more open and comfortable with sexuality, when people actually go to make love, they are basically left without any sensible guide about how to proceed."

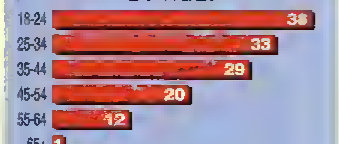


In an average month, how many times do you have sex?



Percentage who say that they have sex 11 or more times a month:

BY AGE:



BY MARITAL STATUS:

Single
22%

Married/common law
30%

Widowed/divorced/separated
17%

BY REGION:



For both men and women, that can spell confusion and anxiety. "It is increasingly the case that modern movies, both pornographic and mainstream, put pressure on guys that they should be great lovers, that they should have these great bodies and wonderful erect penises that never go down," says Johanson. For women, meanwhile, big-screen steam can prompt a pattern of forced histrionics in the bedroom. "It used to be that there was something wrong with women if they were interested in sex," notes Robinson. "Now, they're getting the ridiculous message that they're supposed to be multi-orgasmic 24 hours a day."

Madonna's aluminum-bound *Sex*, brimming with images of boodage, torture and bestiality, epitomizes the way in which mass-market images also link sex with domination and violence. "Madonna has always been popular with young people, which unfortunately means that they will turn to this book for inspiration," says Patricia Sawatzky, a former co-ordinator of the Alberta Coalition Against Pornography and a lecturer in women's studies at the University of Calgary. Others express concern about how the superstar—whose book is one of 1992's best-sellers—has helped to push soft-core pornography into the mainstream. "I see it as just one step ahead of porn—one short, dangerous step," says Johanson. "It is one thing to feed fantasies, but I'm beginning to wonder if this has started to create a feeding frenzy."

A highly charged Canadian debate over pornography also produced headlines around the world this year when the Supreme Court unanimously ruled as obscene—and therefore subject to censorship—any material that, the judges wrote, "predisposes persons to act in an antisocial manner as, for example, the physical or mental mistreatment of women by men." Considered a victory by many feminists, the decision underscored the deep divide, even within the women's movement, about the power and the propriety of sexual imagery—and about the role of the state in policing sexual enjoyment. "Censorship harms women and it harms sex," says Thelma McCormack, a professor of women's studies at York University in Toronto. "If we are ever to grow up sexually," she adds, "we have to enter some very dangerous areas of the sexual imagination."

Indeed, in a world where real sex can be a deadly proposition, sexual fiction's long-closeted companion, masturbation, inched toward respectability in 1992. "One of my current fantasies, and I am serious here, is to teach women how to masturbate to orgasm—how to have lots of fun with no one around," says Wendy Williams, a former nurse who is now a member of St. John's City Council and president of the Newfoundland and Labrador Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Even prime-time TV recently took on the once-taboo topic. In November, the popular comedy *Seinfeld* devoted a frank and hilarious episode to the subject, in which the show's four central characters, including one woman, make a bet to see who can resist the temptation the longest. And although Madonna's *Sex* grabbed more headlines, one of the most well-reviewed books of the year was American Nicholson Baker's *Vox*, the story of a torrid phone-sex conversation between a man and a woman in different cities, ending in their simultaneous—although geographically distinct—orgasms.

For those with a taste for more immediate titillation, nightclubs devoted to flirtation and other sexual distractions took an upscale turn in 1992. In November, New York City's Times Square became home to a dance club—owned by Peter Gatien, a native of Cornwall, Ont.—called USA, with a fetish- and bondage-inspired VIP lounge created by French fashion king Thierry Mugler. The popular designer was a natural for the job: his summer 1992 collection included high-priced women's outfits in rubber, latex and leather. In Canada, the $350,000 renovation of a strip club in



BRUCE STOTESBURY

Shopping for condoms in Victoria: sex can be a deadly proposition

Woodbridge, Ont., 20 km northwest of Toronto, earned Dan Menchions and Keith Rushbrook the title Designers of the Year from Ontario's Association of Registered Interior Designers. Among the two men's additions to the popular Club Pro: what they call an "abuse tolerant" carpet that can withstand being hosed down every night, and innovative lighting to disguise cellulite on the thighs of the establishment's strippers.

A nod of professional approval to a world once written off as decadent and sinful, a sex goddess's lesbian fantasies bound in metal, and a rebirth of excitement about old-fashioned monogamy: sex in a time of uncertainty comes in packages as varied as the people who enjoy it. If there is an overriding message in the current sexual revolution, it is one about the formidable staying power of sex itself—despite the anxieties and despite the headlines. Says Newfoundland's Williams: "So much of what we see out there is doom and gloom, and yet people keep on having sex, and watching sex and wanting sex." Adds Williams: "It's no big mystery, really—sex makes them happy." In an era when one of their favorite diversions demands perseverance, imagination and energy, people appear as determined as ever to keep their love affair with sex alive.

VICTOR DWYER

When you have sex, how often do you use a condom?



Condom use among respondents who say that they have had two or more sexual partners in the past year



Percentage of respondents who say that they use a condom "often" or "always":

BY AGE:



BY SEX:

MEN 25 WOMEN 18

Because of the AIDS scare, do you think Canadians are ...?

Having less sex outside of a long-term relationship and also thinking less about sex

24%

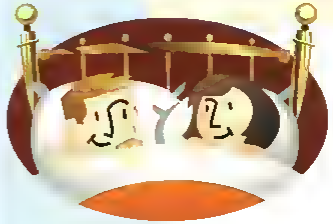
Having less sex outside of a long-term relationship but thinking more about sex

27%

Canadians' actions and thoughts about sex have not changed much

49%

Excludes "no opinion"



VOICES OF CANADA

HOW THE POLL WAS CONDUCTED



Results of the ninth annual Maclean's *year-end poll by Decima Research, conducted this year in partnership with CTV, are based on telephone interviews with a random sample of 1,500 Canadian residents 18 years or older in all 10 provinces from Nov. 14 through Nov. 20.*

National results are considered accurate within a range of 2.6 percentage points above or below the figures given, 19 times out of 20. Accuracy ranges are wider for results from individual provinces or regions, and those margins of error also increase on questions that a significant proportion of poll respondents declined to answer.

The results in tables and charts are percentages of those polled, rounded off to the nearest whole number (for example, 11 represents the range from 10.5 to 11.4). For that reason, and because "don't know" and non-answer responses (DK/NA) are eliminated from some tables and charts, the total percentages in all cases may not add to 100. Some of the tables include results from previous Maclean's/Decima *polls.*

1. In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Canada today. In other words, the one that concerns you the most?

	1989	1990	1991	1992
Unemployment	6	9	18	39
Economy/recession	10	21	24	25
Gov't/deficit/spending	10	6	14	11
Constitution/unity	7	8	13	5
Taxes/GST	15	23	10	3
Environment	18	9	4	2
Other/DK/NA	34	25	17	15

2. How satisfied are you with your own personal economic situation right now? Would you say you are:

	1989	1990	1991	1992
Very dissatisfied	5	7	12	12
Dissatisfied	21	24	25	23
Satisfied	62	61	56	56
Very satisfied	11	8	7	10

3. Thinking about the future, in general, would you say you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic or very pessimistic about your personal economic prospects?

	1989	1990	1991	1992
Very pessimistic	3	3	6	4
Pessimistic	16	23	24	23
Optimistic	70	65	62	65
Very optimistic	10	7	7	6

4. In your view, is the economy in Canada beginning to improve, not changing or getting worse? (Question wording varies in earlier years.)

	1989	1990	1991	1992
Improving	17	4	9	12
Not changing	24	6	35	45
Getting worse	58	90	55	42

5. Some people have said that they expect the economy to remain weak through most of the 1990s and that economic and job opportunities will remain limited. Other people have said that they expect the economy to become stronger over the next year or so and for economic and job prospects to improve. Which point of view best reflects your own?

Remain weak	61
Become stronger	38

6. What do you think has been the main reason for Canada's slow recovery from the recession? Is it because our major trading partners, including the United States, are also experiencing slow growth; Canadian business and workers are not as competitive internationally as they should be; the federal government has done a poor job of managing the economy; the free trade deal with the United States has hurt our economy?

Slow growth abroad	20
Not competitive enough	13
Poor government job	43
Free Trade Agreement	20

7. Who do you look to most to look after your best economic interests?

	1989	1990	1991	1992
Government	25	27	27	27
Business	50	45	48	53
Unions	15	16	15	13
DK/NA	10	12	9	7

8. If you had a problem in your community that affected a large number of people, who would you be most likely to turn to for assistance? Would it be an elected politician in your area; a local business leader; a volunteer organization in your area; a group of neighbors; or yourself?

	1990	1991	1992
Politician	32	32	30
Business leader	7	7	10
Volunteers	15	16	15
Neighbors	25	21	21
Yourself	20	21	22

9. Thinking about your federal member of Parliament, in your opinion how should your MP vote in the House of Commons on major issues facing Canada? Should your MP vote according to the majority view in his or her constituency, his or her own conscience and beliefs, or the policies of his or her political party?

	1991	1992
Constituency view	67	71
MP's own conscience	23	21
MP's party policies	9	7

10. If an important national decision affecting the direction of the country had to be made, which one of the following approaches would you prefer that the government take as a way of making the decision? Would you prefer that the government: take a public opinion poll; hold a referendum, set up a 1-800 number so that interested Canadians may express their views; hold a vote in Parliament; call a first ministers' conference so that the Prime Minister and the premiers can decide?

Opinion poll	24
Referendum	27
A 1-800 number	25
Vote in Parliament	12
First ministers	10

11. From your point of view, which one of the following groups has the most honesty and integrity? Is it

Doctors	24
Scientists	21
University professors	21
Business executives	12
Journalists	10
Lawyers	4
Politicians	2
DK/NA	8



SAXON/AP

Clinton on* The Arsenio Hall Show: *asked for their favorite politician, a third of those sampled said 'none of the above'

12. If you had a child and that child came to you for advice about a career, which one of these would you be most likely to suggest as a career?

Doctor	28
Business executive	19
Scientist	16
University professor	11
Lawyer	9
Journalist	4
Politician	2
None of the above	9

13. Who among the following is your favorite politician?

Jean Chrétien	16
Bill Clinton	14
Audrey McLaughlin	11
Lucien Bouchard	10
Preston Manning	9
Brian Mulroney	9
None of the above	30

14. Generally speaking, in the past few years would you say that the faith you have in politicians to serve the public interest has increased significantly, increased somewhat, stayed the same, decreased somewhat, or decreased significantly? (1990 question slightly different.)

	1990	1992
Decreased significantly	30	42
Decreased somewhat	33	31
Stayed the same	24	20
Increased somewhat	10	5
Increased significantly	2	2

15. As you may know, many people do not appear to regard politicians very highly these days. What in your opinion is the most important reason for this? Is it that politicians no longer seem to have answers that could help solve the country's problems; they spend too much time talking among themselves and not enough time with the people; they only seem interested in helping themselves and abusing their position; or that most politicians are honest and hardworking, but people expect too much of them?

No longer have answers	22
Not enough time with people	34
Abusing their position	33
People expect too much	9

16. And are you very confident, somewhat confident, not very confident or not confident at all that the people with the qualities we need for the future will run for public office?

Very confident	5
Somewhat confident	34
Not very confident	42
Not confident at all	18

17. There has been a lot of discussion over the past few years about the most important role of government. Which of the following do you personally consider the most important? Is it to: invest in areas like education that provide Canadians with the skills they need to help themselves; create an environment where business can prosper and create jobs, provide the services and support for people which they cannot provide for themselves, or control public spending and reduce the deficit?

Invest in skills	31
Help business prosper	37
Provide services/support	7
Control spending	25

18. And overall, which of the following two options for government do you think is more important right now? Is it to: do everything possible to reduce the government deficit, even if it means a reduction in services, or invest in programs that give people skills for the future, even if it means the deficit increases?

Reduce deficit, despite services	41
Invest in skills, despite deficit	57

19. Given the reaction to the Charlottetown constitutional proposals in the October referendum, do you think it is better to resume negotiations

in order to achieve a new constitutional package, for the federal government, the provinces and other groups to implement a series of separate agreements in the areas covered in the Charlottetown accord, to forget about any constitutional changes or amendments for the foreseeable future?

Resume negotiations	18
Make separate agreements	21
Forget about Constitution	59



DUSAN STRKIC

Toronto police making an arrest: widespread fear of street crime

20. Overall, how do you tend to view Canada—as a pact between two founding groups, English and French, or as a relationship among 10 equal provinces?

English-French pact	30
Relationship/10 equals	68

21. If "a relationship between 10 equal provinces," would you be prepared to accept or to reject any future constitutional proposal, if the relationship between English and French Canada was the most important factor taken into account in reaching a deal?

Reject	51	Accept	44

22. If "a pact between two founding groups," would you be prepared to accept or reject any future constitutional proposals if they were based on the idea that all 10 provinces had to be treated equally?

Reject	30	Accept	67

23. In thinking about Canada, would you say that compared with five years ago, you are less proud, more proud or no more nor less proud of the country? (1990 question slightly different)

	1990	1992
Less proud	34	**29**
No more/no less proud	48	**52**
More proud	18	**19**

24. And in thinking about your expectations for the future, do you think that the generation being born now will be better off, worse off or about the same as their parents?

Better off	18
Worse off	56
About the same	25

25. Now, suppose for a second that your province was given the opportunity to join the United States and receive the full rights to statehood including the right to elect senators and congressmen from your area. If you had this chance, would you be inclined to take it or not?

Yes	20	No	79

● Now, I would like to ask you if each of the following has changed in your community in the past five years. Would you say that, in your opinion, the situation has become much better, somewhat better, has not changed, become somewhat worse, or become much worse in the past five years?

26. The behavior of young people

Much worse	24
Somewhat worse	40
Not changed	28
Somewhat better	6
Much better	1

27. The amount of violent crime

Much worse	28
Somewhat worse	38
Not changed	29
Somewhat better	3
Much better	1

28. Racial, ethnic relations

Much worse	11
Somewhat worse	19
Not changed	52
Somewhat better	14
Much better	2

29. Your feeling of personal safety from crime

Much worse	17
Somewhat worse	33
Not changed	42
Somewhat better	6
Much better	2

30. Do you keep your doors locked at all times, even when you are at home?

Yes	51	No	48

31. Are you personally taking more, the same, or fewer precautions to protect your personal and household safety today than you did a few years ago?

More	60	Same	39	Less	1

32. Generally speaking, are you afraid to walk the streets of your community at night alone?

	1989	1990	1992
Yes	24	26	**33**
No	76	74	**67**

33. What do you think is better for Canada: for new immigrants to be encouraged to maintain their distinct culture and ways, or to change their distinct culture and ways to blend with the larger society?

	1989	1992
Maintain distinct culture	40	**34**
Blend with larger society	57	**64**

34. Over the past five years, have you noticed in your community if there are more, the same number, or fewer people who come from visible minorities?

More people	53
Same number	39
Fewer people	7

35. As you may know, over the past 20 years most immigrants arriving in Canada have come from Asia, the West Indies and other, mainly Third World countries whereas, before that, they mainly came from Europe. Do you see this as a

	1989	1992
Very bad thing	6	**5**
Bad thing	21	**22**
Fact of life	53	**53**
Good thing	16	**18**
Very good thing	2	**1**

36. If you could have one wish from the following, which would you choose? To . . .

Never have to worry about financial security	29
Be much more sexually attractive	1
Feel complete inner peace and happiness	39
Be able to maintain your youth and health	30

37. Over the past year or so, which one of the following have you found yourself most interested in?

International news and events	24
Sporting news and events	13
National news and events	21
Local news and events	20
Economic news and events	21

38. Which one of the following sports stories did you follow with the most interest this year?

The Winter Olympics at Albertville, France	10
The Summer Olympics in Barcelona, Spain	21
Toronto Blue Jays win baseball World Series	53
Eric Lindros joins NHL's Philadelphia Flyers	4
The NHL players' strike	4
Don't follow sports/None of the above	7

39. And which one of the following news stories did you follow with the most interest?

Oct. 26 constitutional referendum	47
Recession	20
U S presidential election	15
Civil war in Yugoslavia	11
Famine in Somalia	4

40. Which one of the following recent stories about prominent people did you personally find the most fascinating?

Magic Johnson testing positive for the AIDS virus	30
Marital problems of Prince Charles and Diana	22
Mike Tyson's rape case	19
Separation of Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson	8
Woody Allen-Mia Farrow split	3
DK/NA	18

41. Who is your favorite athlete or favorite player on any professional team?

Wayne Gretzky	14	Roberto Alomar	4
Mario Lemieux	5	Dave Winfield	3
Sylvie Fréchette	4	Others	39
None/Don't watch sports	17	DK/NA	14

42. Would you describe yourself as very sexually active, somewhat sexually active, not very sexually active or not sexually active at all?

	1986	1989	1992
Very sexually active	15	14	**13**
Somewhat sexually active	54	52	**48**
Not very sexually active	16	15	**14**
Not sexually active at all	9	13	**12**
DK/NA	6	5	**13**

43. And on average, how often would you say you have sex in a month?

None	12
Once	4
Two or three times	8
Four or five times	12
Six to 10 times	19
Eleven to 15 times	11
Sixteen to 20 times	5
Twenty-one to 25 times	2
Twenty-six to 30 times	1
More than 30 times	1
DK/NA	25



F STITCH, TAMPA TRIBUNE/SIPA

Johnson: infected by the AIDS virus

44. And approximately how many sexual partners would you say you have had in the past year?

None	12
One	65
Two	5
Three or four	3
Five to nine	2
Ten or more	1
DK/NA	13

45. When you have sexual relations, would you say a condom is used always, often, sometimes rarely or never?

	1989	1992
Always	8	**13**
Often	5	**5**
Sometimes	10	**7**
Rarely	6	**5**
Never	66	**55**
DK/NA	5	**15**

46. Because of the AIDS scare, do you think Canadians are generally having less sex outside of a steady, long-term relationship and also thinking less about sex, having less sex outside of such a relationship but thinking a lot more about sex, or that their actions and thoughts about sex have not changed much?

Having less/thinking less	21
Having less/thinking more	24
Not changed much	44
DK/NA	12

47. When you think about the kind of sex you most enjoy, would you describe it as:

Romantic, with soft music and low lights	28
Spontaneous, on the spur of the moment	25
Friendly and very familiar	17
Planned, something you looked forward to	6
Kinky	2
A little bit rough	1
DK/NA	21

HIGH-WIRE POLITICS

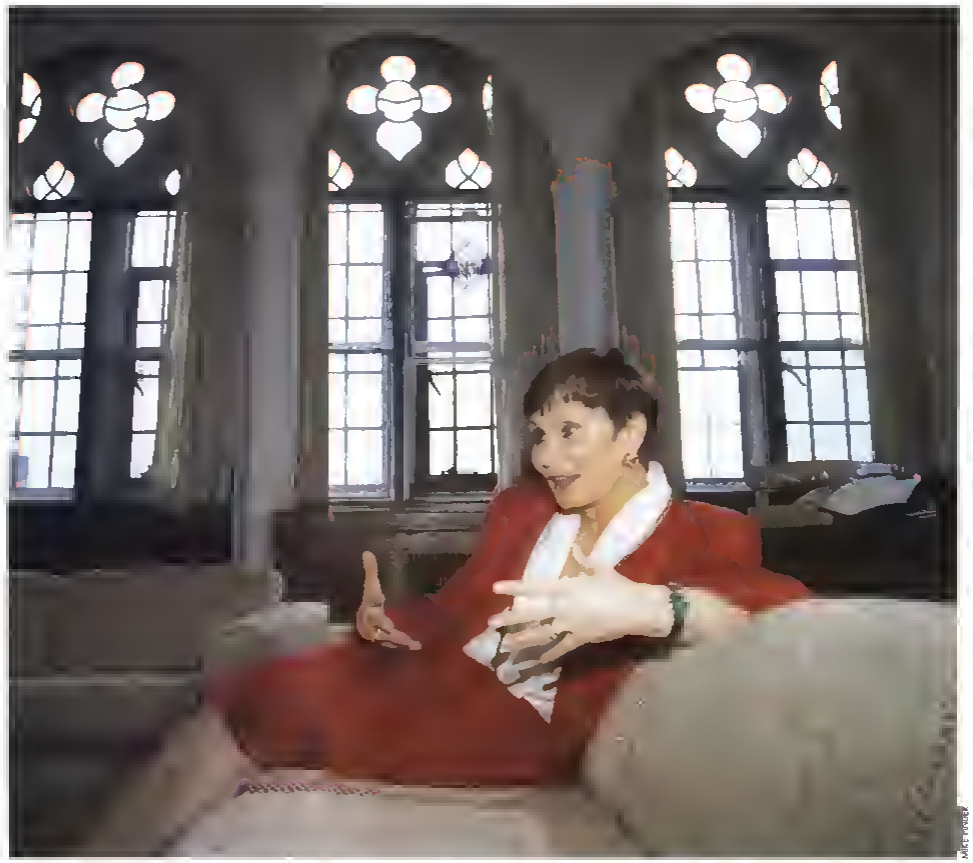
THE FEDERAL NDP STRUGGLES TO BALANCE PRINCIPLES WITH THE PARTY'S QUEST FOR POWER

A damp and chilly wind whistled through the empty downtown streets surrounding the Hamilton Convention Centre. Inside, packed into one of the centre's meeting rooms, about 250 people who had braved the inhospitable weather waited for a speech by federal NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin. She took the stage at 7:30 p.m. and declared hopefully, "We want to talk about some new ideas to get the economy working—to get Canadians working." McLaughlin received warm applause, but the reception masked a worrisome reality for New Democrats. Although that session in late November had been billed as a town-hall meeting with the 56-year-old NDP leader, it attracted mostly party stalwarts. Now, with a federal election less than a year away, party strategists acknowledge that they must overcome the public's seeming apathy—and attract a broader base of support. Says Michael Campbell-Balagus, the New Democrats' director of communications and strategic planning: "One of Audrey's greatest strengths is her interaction with people. We want to design a campaign to take advantage of that."

There is more than a hint of desperation underlying such statements by New Democrats. In the 1988 federal election, the party won an unprecedented 43 seats—but its support has since plummeted. According to the latest Gallup poll, taken in November, the NDP has a mere 14-per-cent support, leagues behind the Liberals, who have the support of 47 per cent of the decided electorate. The party even trails the Conservatives, with 22 per cent. In late January, the party will begin to formally chart an election platform and strategy designed to revive its fortunes. But that debate may intensify the divisions between New Democrats who want the party to remain unerringly true to its socialist heritage and those who advocate a more pragmatic course in the quest for political power. Declared outspoken NDP MP Philip Edmonston, whose 1990 byelection victory in Chambly made him the first New Democrat elected in Quebec: "There is a tendency to be a bit more conservative in your viewpoints when you have more MPs than you have ever had before. It has resulted in our party being much more careful. Now, we look at what is political, instead of what is principle."

The uneasy balance between principles and politics, past history and present reality, continues to bedevil the NDP. Many New Democrats point with pride to McLaughlin's performance during the Oct. 26 constitutional referendum campaign, especially her televised debate on behalf of the Yes side with Reform Party of Canada Leader Preston Manning. But others, among them Edmonston, say that they are upset that the party allied itself with the establishment Conservatives and Liberals to support the Charlottetown accord. While the deal contained some NDP goals such as aboriginal self-government and a social charter, they say it did not conform entirely to party policy. For one thing, the NDP suddenly found itself defending a reformed Senate, while the party has always favored abolition of the upper chamber. Says Edmonston: "We should go back to the basic principles that we have always stood for. We have to learn from the referendum experience and become much more grassroots."

But in spite of the party's lack of popularity, most caucus members say that McLaughlin, who took over from Edward Broadbent in December 1989, deserves at least one election campaign to prove herself. Said one caucus member, privately: "There is some grumbling, but it is minor. The tradition of allowing a leader an election to prove oneself is well-respected. No matter who the leader is, that person goes at least one election." And Winnipeg's David Gotthilf, president of Viewpoints Research Ltd. and the party's pollster, claims that McLaughlin remains an asset for the NDP. Says Gotthilf: "When we show people TV clips of the leaders, particularly the Liberals' Jean Chrétien, versus Audrey, people find Audrey is more of a regular person. And there is a real mood out there that people despise politicians and are looking for 'unpoliticians.'"



McLaughlin: 'I am very cautious about focusing all our planning around polls'

In fact, Gotthilf notes that, ironically, the main reason for the New Democrats' poor showing in the polls may be the strong public distaste for the federal Conservative government. That distaste, he says, has led voters to solidify behind the Liberals. Adds Gotthilf: "People are looking to defeat Brian Mulroney and they see the Liberals as the party that is best able to deliver a change." But many New Democrats note that they face another, more debilitating problem: the overwhelming unpopularity of the provincial NDP government in Ontario. After two years in power, Bob Rae's NDP stands at a dismal 21 per cent in the polls, according to a November Gallup poll compared with the provincial Liberals with 42 per cent and the Tories with 33 per cent. Says Saskatchewan NDP MP Lorne Nystrom, a 24-year veteran of federal politics: "How can you fight that? The only way you can get around it is to have a program that gets people thinking about federal issues and divorce their provincial feelings."

McLaughlin herself remains predictably optimistic about her party's chances in the next election. "I suppose for a lot of people polls become the bottom line," she told *Maclean's* in a recent interview. "But I am very cautious about focusing all of our planning around polls." Instead, she says, New Democrats must offer Canadians a distinctive vision. When the party's federal council meets in late January to debate the NDP's election strategy, it will likely develop a platform that will focus on economic policies such as new plans to increase employment and fighting the North American Free Trade Agreement. Said McLaughlin: "We are trying to develop alternatives, trying to do things like the town-hall meetings."

NDP strategists say that the impending campaign will also highlight McLaughlin herself in the effort to present the party as a credible alternative to both the Tories and the Liberals. If public distrust of traditional politicians endures, they note, McLaughlin may be the NDP's greatest asset during the campaign. Says Campbell-Balagus: "The more people see Audrey on stage, the better for us. We will shoot up in public opinion." But New Democrats first face a more pressing issue: party unity for a platform upon which the leader can stand.

NANCY WOOD *with* **ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH** *in Ottawa*

National Notes

ST. JOHN'S INFERNO

A massive fire swept through downtown St. John's, destroying an entire block and forcing the evacuation of 500 people before firefighters brought the blaze under control. Police said that the fire, the worst in the city in 50 years, caused millions of dollars in damage and may have been caused by arson.

DEATH IN OTTAWA

A senior RCMP inspector died in his Ottawa office, the victim of an apparent suicide, the day before CBC-TV's *the 5th estate* broadcast a program on drug trafficking that implicated the 49-year-old officer. Claude Savoie also had been under an internal police investigation for several months. The CBC program said that Savoie, the former head of the RCMP's Montreal drug squad, had compromising contacts with Allan Ross, who ran an international drug-smuggling operation out of Montreal and is now serving a life sentence in the United States. According to *the 5th estate*, Savoie warned Ross that U.S. authorities were about to move against him. Interviewed off camera, Savoie told the show: "The purpose was, if he thought he was going to be arrested, hopefully, he'd come to us. Then we could work a deal."

STAYING TOGETHER

According to Statistics Canada, the annual number of divorces in Canada has decreased sharply from 90,985 five years ago to 77,031 in 1991. Statistics Canada spokesmen said that more couples may be staying together because of the recession—and the prohibitive costs of setting up separate households.

SOVEREIGNTY TIMETABLE

Parti Québécois Leader Jacques Parizeau predicted that sovereignty for Quebec could come as soon as 1995. Parizeau said that if the PQ ousts Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberals from power in the next provincial election, expected in 1994, he would hold a sovereignty referendum within nine months of assuming office.

COD FISHING CUTS

Federal Fisheries Minister John Crosbie announced that Canada and the European Community have reached agreement on a deal to allow depleted North Atlantic cod stocks time to replenish. Crosbie said that the 12-member EC, long blamed for overfishing on the Grand Banks outside of Canada's territorial waters, agreed to abide by the restrictive quotas established by the international Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization.

One man's crusade

A coroner takes aim at school bus safety

A smile of satisfaction lifts the corners of Marc-André Bouliane's drooping moustache as he relishes the epithet most often used to describe him. "They like to call me a pit bull," says the 42-year-old Quebec coroner, chuckling quietly. "I have to admit the comparison is accurate." Short and bulldog sturdy, Bouliane certainly looks the part—and acts it as well. He neither fears a fight nor is quick to retreat, as an assorted host of appointed and elected Quebec officials have discovered to their dismay over the past six years. For much of that time, they have been engaged in a battle with Bouliane over the alarming toll of death and injury suffered by Quebec children in school bus accidents. "I've been on a crusade," Bouliane declares, "but something has to be done to cut through the bureaucratic inertia and political apathy that is killing and maiming our children."



CLEMENT ALLARD

Bouliane: 'Political apathy is killing our children'

It has been a long, lonely, and often frustrating struggle for the feisty coroner, one that began in 1986 when he first presided over an inquest into the death of an eight-year-old boy run over by a school bus after he got off the vehicle. Since then, Bouliane, the only one of Quebec's 135 coroners who has the authority to hold inquests across the province, has conducted seven similar public inquiries, each successively more sweeping in scope—and each calling for extensive improvements in school bus safety procedures. The most recent—and most ambitious—finished in November, after Bouliane heard testimony over a six-month period from 284 witnesses, including three provincial cabinet ministers, dozens of provincial civil servants and 147 local school board officials, as well as school bus owners, drivers, bus manufacturers and the parents of several of the children who have died in school-bus-related incidents. Bouliane is currently preparing a final report on that inquest, which he says will be ready for public release by mid-January. But the former Crown prosecutor says that he is not anticipating early action from the authorities, largely because "I've been issuing essentially the same recommendations since 1986 without a lot of success."

The coroner's crusade has been fuelled by bleak statistics. During the six years since his first inquest, he says, Quebec school bus accidents have claimed the lives of another 29 children. "And that is only the tip of the iceberg," he maintains, pointing out that in the past 10 years at least 5,000 children were injured, with 500 of those injuries classified as serious. Bouliane, whose parents were killed in a car accident when he was seven, angrily adds that the province's school bus accident record is eight times higher than that in Ontario and the United States. "The stupid, senseless reality is that almost every one of those deaths, almost every one of those grave injuries, could have been avoided," he declares.

His most recent inquest, into the death of six-year-old Jean-Michel Bisson of Aylmer, offers a casebook example of the problem. On Feb. 25, 1982, the child got off the bus near his home. As he passed in front of the vehicle, he bent over to pick up some hockey cards he had dropped. The driver did not see the boy, who was hidden below the bus's protruding hood. He pulled away, crushing young Jean-Michel under the vehicle's wheels. The child died instantly. Even though that tragedy occurred 10 years ago, Bouliane says that it fits a pattern that is almost always the same. "The accident involves a child between the ages of five and eight," he explains. "It happens when a child is forced to cross in front of his school bus, and it involves a vehicle with an extended nose."

To resolve the problem, Bouliane has several basic recommendations. He wants the authorities to gradually replace the province's 7,000 long-nosed school buses with flat-nosed vehicles that offer drivers a better view. Although 2,000 flat-nosed buses are already being used in Quebec—other provinces also have a mix of both types—Bouliane is also calling for modifications to flat-nosed vehicles, especially changing the window design to increase driver visibility. Another recommendation: adult monitors to accompany bus drivers on routes where children have to cross in front of buses. And, finally, he wants new licensing measures for school bus operators and heavier police surveillance of the drivers. Bouliane notes that training programs for Quebec's school bus drivers do not differ much from those in other provinces, but he speculates that, in general, Quebec's drivers may be "less responsible."

The coroner's recommendations have met with vociferous protests from both provincial authorities and local school boards. Provincial government spokesmen complain that it would cost $15 million to phase out the long-nosed buses over a 12-year period. School officials also claim that the cost of adult monitors on school buses could reach $34 million per year. Bouliane concedes that his proposals would involve heavy expenditures by financially pressed authorities. But, he responds, "What is the price of a single child's life?"

In fact, Bouliane's long crusade may finally be having an effect. In November, after receiving a 10,000-signature petition urging the implementation of stronger safety measures, provincial Transport Minister Sam Elkas unveiled a new school bus driver-training program. Elkas's initiative also included a $2-million scheme to improve the design of Quebec's 6,500 conventional long-nosed school buses, primarily by equipping the vehicles with retractable extension arms that force children to move into the driver's field of vision when crossing in front of the bus. For Bouliane, who has three school-age children of his own, the steps are encouraging. But he says that they still fall far short of the measures required to deal effectively with the issue he has doggedly pursued for the past six years. "It's mostly cosmetics," he complains with a growl—not unlike that of a pit bull.

BARRY CAME *in Montreal*



THE GHOSTS OF WAR

NEWLY RELEASED DOCUMENTS SHED LIGHT ON THE NAZI OCCUPATION OF BRITAIN'S CHANNEL ISLANDS



PETER MCKINNON

Miere in Jersey's war museum: 'It's like a boil that keeps festering'

Joe Miere leads the way into a 20-foot-high tunnel hacked out of the rock of a hillside on the outskirts of St Helier, capital of the Channel island of Jersey. On a typical summer's day, hundreds of chattering tourists crowd into the dark hole, paying $7 apiece for a glimpse of an unusual attraction: a sprawling underground complex built by forced laborers working on British soil under the orders of the German army. But on a chilly December morning, the tourists are long gone and Miere has ample time to guide a lone visitor through the eerie labyrinth that is Jersey's most striking reminder of an episode most local people would just as soon forget—the occupation of the Channel Islands by Nazi forces during the Second World War. Half a century after the caverns were hewn out of the hillside, they remain dry and solid. The German engineers, Miere notes wryly, "built this place to last."

Now, the islanders have been given another unwelcome reminder of a part of the past. In December, the British government opened its archives and made public 26 bundles of documents about the occupation. Scheduled to remain secret until 2045, the papers shed new light on the ordeal of the only British territory that endured Nazi occupation. Once again, outsiders sifted through yellowing documents for evidence that leading islanders collaborated with their masters or built fortunes on wartime profiteering, and that women—contemptuously labelled "Jerryhags" by other locals—slept with German soldiers. The papers revealed little that islanders did not already know. But they reopened old wounds and set Britons thinking about how they might have reacted had Hitler's forces overrun their country.

For most local residents, preoccupied with maintaining Jersey's status as a prosperous tourist destination and tax haven a dozen miles off the coast of Normandy, the war is a distant memory. Along with the other Channel Islands, it is a self-governing dependency of the British Crown. The Queen rules not as monarch of the United Kingdom, but as successor to William, Duke of Normandy, who stormed across the English Channel in 1066 and did what Hitler failed to do: conquer mainland Britain. The islands have always been dominated by an elite of leading families, and ever since the Germans surrendered on May 9, 1945, their leaders have been largely content to draw a polite veil over the divisive wartime years.

But for some older islanders, including 66-year-old Joe Miere, the occupation still poses troublesome questions. Miere was just 14 when German troops occupied the Channel Islands in June, 1940, and he and his boyhood friends staged small-scale acts of sabotage against the Germans, such as cutting telephone wires and stealing gasoline. In 1944, he was imprisoned for seven months by the Nazis for those activities, and later served as curator of the museum that now occupies the underground caverns that the Germans intended to use as a hospital. The museum includes an exhibit of letters and photos recording islanders' resistance to the invaders. But not all resisted, and Miere maintains that the British government should have tried those suspected of collaborating, as well as local officials who showed themselves pliant to the occupiers. "They should have brought it all out into the open, and settled it in 1945," he says. "Instead it's like a boil that keeps festering."

In fact, there were few cases of outright collaboration. Some local women did have affairs with German soldiers—and at least 435 illegitimate children were born as a result. The newly released documents include a report by Britain's wartime intelligence service, MI-19, which said: "Numbers of women, including a surprising number of married women, formerly considered respectable, have carried on and lived with Germans." When the Germans surrendered in 1945, many of the women were roughly treated by angry locals who shaved their heads or tarred and feathered them.

Other islanders betrayed their neighbors in more blatant ways. Maurice Green, a 65-year-old retired printer in St Helier, says that his father, Stanley, was betrayed by a man who still lives only a mile from his house. Stanley Green built radio transmitters that locals used to send secret intelligence reports to London. In early 1944, the occupiers arrested him and sent him to the Buchenwald concentration camp in Germany, which he survived. Maurice Green says he knows the man who informed on his father, but does not hate him. "When he gets to heaven, God'll sort it out," says Green.

More controversial was the behavior of the island's own authorities who remained in place throughout the occupation. Although the Germans imposed harsh conditions on the 18,000 foreign workers they brought in to build the islands' elaborate concrete defences, they treated the Channel Islanders relatively well. For the islanders, outright resistance was almost impossible. Some 30,000 German troops were stationed among only 65,000 locals and the islands' militia had been evacuated to the mainland before the invasion. To ensure that islanders survived the occupation, local officials ordered their people to obey German orders. But they also passed German laws, including anti-Jewish regulations, through their assembly. Miere and others maintain that island leaders went too far in co-operating with the occupiers. In one notorious incident in September, 1942, local authorities helped the Germans identify 2,100 Jews and English-born residents of the islands to be deported to camps in Germany. Local police accompanied German soldiers who rounded up the deportees. "They were frightened old men," Miere says of the wartime leaders. "They could have done much more than they did."

The official view was quite different. After the war ended, British officials investigated accusations of collaboration and decided not to try anyone. Instead, they moved 40 people who had been denounced as traitors off the island, and left others who had co-operated with the Germans to face "financial sanctions and social ostracism" from their neighbors. At the same time, Britain handed out knighthoods and other honors to local leaders, despite accusations that they had been overly energetic in enforcing German regulations. The government gave no such honors to those arrested or deported by the Germans.

Still, most older islanders are impatient with and sometimes hostile towards outsiders who pry into their past. The line between collaboration and simple survival, they insist, is a fine one. And those who did not experience occupation should not pass judgment on those who did. "If England had been occupied, it would have been the same," says Sir Peter Crill, Jersey's bailiff. "There are bound to be heroes and there are bound to be collaborators. Human nature is no different here." Meanwhile, the islands' remaining wartime secrets remain hidden. The last seven sensitive files of occupation documents are to stay sealed until 2045—when anyone connected with the murky events of half a century ago will be dead.

ANDREW PHILLIPS *in St Helier*

World Notes

KEY CLINTON APPOINTMENTS

President-elect Bill Clinton named his transition team director, Warren Christopher, 67, a veteran of the Carter administration in the 1970s, to be his secretary of state. Regarded as a savvy, if cautious and low-key, public servant, Christopher is expected to emphasize human rights in his conduct of foreign policy. Clinton also fingered Wisconsin congressman and military expert Les Aspin, 54, to become defence secretary.

ELECTION IN SERBIA

Unofficial returns in Serbian presidential elections showed hard-line incumbent Slobodan Milošević leading moderate Yugoslav prime minister Milan Panic. But opposition leaders accused Milošević of vote rigging and said they may demand a new vote. The result was seen as crucial for the future course of the civil war in Bosnia. Panic, a Yugoslav-born California pharmaceutical millionaire, had promised to end the fighting.

ISRAEL HOLDS ITS GROUND

Despite worldwide condemnation, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said that 415 Palestinians that his government deported to a no man's land in southern Lebanon on Dec. 17 would not return. The Lebanese government refused to let the deportees into Lebanon proper and prevented relief supplies, including water, from reaching them. Israel said that the deportees are members of two Islamic fundamentalist groups that killed five Israeli soldiers.

A CALL TO DISARM

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali called on American troops to disarm Somalia's feuding warlords and gangs. The United States has maintained that its task force, which entered the starving nation on Dec. 9, would only disarm combatants who threatened troops or relief operations. Meanwhile, 10 days after agreeing to a U.S.-sponsored plan to impound armed vehicles, Somali militiamen began pulling their heavily armed battle-wagons out of the capital, Mogadishu.

MAJOR AND MINERS

In a setback to British Prime Minister John Major, a high court ruled that the Conservative government acted unlawfully when it called for wholesale coal mine closures in October. The court said that the government—which announced that it would shut 31 of the country's 50 state-owned coal mines, but later reduced that number to 10—had ignored the miners' right of consultation.

Letter from Moscow

A Comedy of Manners

Communism's collapse has left Russians fumbling with an embarrassing social puzzle: they no longer know how to address each other. Under Marxism's one-size-fits-all policy, party members and prudent non-Communists alike routinely referred to each other as *tovarich*, or comrade. But that term is now as outdated as five-year plans. Of course, the hard-liners who want to restore the Soviet empire retain the old form of address—as do many pensioners, who, willingly or not, spent their lives under communism. But for most Russians, the fall of *tovarich* is forcing them to try out prerevolutionary greetings and foreign imports—with inconclusive results to date. Said Igor Dudinsky, a Moscow novelist with an encyclopedic knowledge of the Russian language: "I have gone from meetings where businessmen used *gospadeen* [sir or gentleman] to indicate how hip they were, to waiting in breadlines where people simply shout *'Aze, ti!'* [Hey you!] when they want to get your attention."

To Dudinsky and many other Russians, such prerevolutionary salutations as "ladies and gentlemen" have been in linguistic mothballs far too long to merit consideration for revival. Another possible greeting, *grazhdanin*, or citizen, also carries historical baggage that hampers its chances of gaining wide acceptance. In fact, that term conveys far more ominous undertones of the old regime than even the Bolshevik-favored "comrade." Certainly, anyone who lived during the rule of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin automatically began preparing for the labor camps—or worse—if a secret police agent or government official addressed him as "citizen." *Grazhdanin* was used for enemies of the people who no longer deserved to be called "comrade."

The disappearance of widely accepted forms of address has harshened encounters in a society that, as even Russians themselves acknowledge, does not greatly value public manners. Listening to Russian bureaucrats process a lineup by brusquely calling out to each client in turn, "Man" or "Woman," and then shouting "you are next" is cause enough to justify longings for a slight veneer of bourgeois etiquette. Recalled the American vice-president of a recently established commercial banking operation in Moscow: "I had to ask our local staff to stop yelling at prospective account holders who had filled out application forms improperly by reminding them that we were in business to attract customers." And anyone who has boarded a Moscow subway car knows that Russians stoically endure extreme crowding and jostling without hint of apologies.

Street body checking aside, Russians do have a well-developed code of appropriate public behavior. Even during mild spring or fall weather, the neighborhood *babushki*—grandmothers, who are the self-appointed guardians of social mores—are quick to pounce on parents who permit their children to leave home without a hat. And anyone who goes outdoors without a head covering after the first snowfall will invariably receive a tongue-lashing for such foolhardiness. There is one slight consolation for those victims aged roughly 30 and older who get caught in a *babushki* barrage: custom demands that anyone who is not actually receiving an old-age pension be referred to as a *malados chelonek* (young person). In similar fashion, Russians routinely use the word *devushka* (young lady) whether they are speaking to a teenage shop assistant or a fellow worker who is old enough to be a grandmother.

Such nods to politeness are seldom present during Russian telephone calls. Most people customarily answer the phone with "I am listening," a phrase that challenges the caller to get quickly to the point. All too frequently, callers who misdial a number hang up without bothering to apologize for the mistake. Said a British business representative who has lived in Moscow for four years: "I used to be innocent enough to believe that they recognized my accent and were embarrassed about disturbing a foreigner. But it happens to everybody here all the time. People just hang up without saying a word."

As they move from communism to a market economy, Russians have had little time to settle on any new forms of social address. Still, at Moscow's busy Cheramushkinsky market, Stepan Narimanov subscribes to the theory that good manners can be profitable as he described how he lures customers to a stand piled high with produce from his homeland, the former Soviet republic of Azerbaijan. Said Narmanov: "I sometimes use the word *parrin* [guy] if I spot people who might be Americans—they like a casual approach. But when I deal with Russians I call them 'Mister' or 'Madam'—they are more likely to buy if you are polite." But, the salesman added dismissively, "there is little to be gained by greeting someone as *tovarich* anymore." In that respect, old habits die easily.

MALCOLM GRAY *in Moscow*



CHRIS PURDY—GTO

Muscovites riding subway: extreme crowding and jostling without a hint of apology



"I'm waiting for it to fall away, but it's saying 'you're not getting away from me'. ABS is a great idea."

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Receptionist
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Bodies of Turkish Kurd rebels in northern Iraq: no shortage of enemies

IRAQ

Gulf War orphans

Iraq's Kurds face hunger and war this winter

Schools have broken windows and no heat or water, forcing students to sit huddled together to ward off the cold. Many households have exhausted most of their food supplies and subsist on a thin soup of mashed chick peas and tomatoes. And doctors say that they are beginning to treat cases of malnutrition. Those are the squalid conditions facing the Kurds of northern Iraq as winter sets in. tens of thousands living in drafty, gutted buildings with only thin plastic sheets to protect them from icy rains and many others sheltered in flimsy tents outside decaying cities and villages. Dependent upon international relief supplies for food and fuel—and on Western military forces for protection from Saddam Hussein's army—Iraq's 3.5 million Kurds are a living reminder to the world that noble-minded humanitarian missions can evolve into bleak and intractable quagmires.

When the American-led allies stepped in to protect the Kurds from the Iraqi army in April, 1991, it was supposed to be a brief mission. Emboldened by Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War, the Kurds rebelled against Hussein's regime in Baghdad. But government forces crushed the uprising, forcing 1.5 million Kurdish men, women and children to flee through muddy mountain passes into neighboring Iran and Turkey, where many died from exposure and starvation. The survivors returned to Iraq only after the West declared the Kurdish enclave a security zone, off limits to the Iraqis, and began flying air patrols to keep Hussein's army at bay.

Twenty months later, the overflights continue, and the international relief effort struggles on to avert starvation in the region. In November, the United Nations began to deliver emergency supplies of fuel and food to the area under a $90-million international winter relief effort for the estimated 750,000 Kurds who are in serious need of assistance. But the convoys, which must pass from Turkey through Iraqi territory outside of the security zone because the northern mountain routes are impassable in winter, have come under attack. Last week, the United Nations suspended its aid operations after bombs destroyed 10 relief trucks. American officials in Washington claimed to have eyewitness reports blaming Iraqi security forces for the sabotage, but in northern Iraq, Colin Mitchell, the co-ordinator of the UN relief effort, said that there was no conclusive proof of that.

The United Nations said that it would resume the convoys once it had assigned its own armed guards to be stationed at Iraqi border checkpoints, where they would ensure that the trucks were not tampered with. Officials did not say how large a contingent of troops would be deployed but, said Jan Ehasson, the UN undersecretary general for humanitarian affairs "This is a struggle against time because of the onset of winter We must avoid a disaster situation in the next few days." Meanwhile, the Pentagon warned of another threat to the Kurds. the Iraqi military, it said, had massed six divisions along the security zone's 240-km-long border. Baghdad said that its troops were in the region for military exercises.

But the Kurds are constantly alert for Iraqi attacks. As dusk settled at the farming village of Aski Kalak, the thud of mortars and the crackle of rifle fire triggered Kurdish guerrillas to launch a few desultory mortars of their own towards Iraqi lines almost a kilometre away. "We are scared for our country and for our children," said 22-year-old Salan Sobki Akran, clutching an AK-47 assault rifle. "But we will fight."

Iraq's Kurds have no shortage of enemies. Last October, aware of their dependence upon the Turks for essential goods, they agreed to help the Turkish government battle its own separatist Kurdish movement which has waged an eight-year-long struggle for independence and recently established bases in northern Iraq. In three weeks of bitter fighting in October, the Iraqi Kurds pushed the rebels from dozens of base camps and took 1,600 of them prisoner. Now, Turkish Kurds are vowing revenge against their Iraqi counterparts.

Inside the enclave, the Kurds' situation grows more desperate. A 16-month-old Iraqi embargo has created severe shortages of essential goods, leaving the Kurds almost entirely dependent on international aid. And according to a report released in November by the Manhattan-based human rights organization Middle East Watch, between 12 and 20 of them are killed or maimed every week by land mines planted in the north by Iraqi troops before they left. Meanwhile, prices have skyrocketed and unemployment rates have swelled. "It is hard to find work," said Mohammed Ali Aziz, 55, as he dipped his bread in a bowl of yogurt. "But now we are free to start building our own country."

In fact, the Kurds have established a de facto government in the region, although the world community has not recognized their independence. They held free elections in May for their own 105-member parliament, which produced a coalition government that rules from the city of Erbil. The government has organized a small police force and a school administration, and now levies taxes, collects garbage and runs a rudimentary postal system. And the once ubiquitous billboards of Hussein are gone, replaced by portraits of Kurdish fighters who died in the struggle for freedom. But it is a freedom that was won at a terrible cost, and is now sustained only by the vigilance of the rest of the world.

SCOTT STEELE *with* **MICHAEL GEORGY** *in Erbil*



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SPEYSIDE SENDS ITS BEST.

FUTURE VISION 1993

Kevin Miedus says that when he won almost a million dollars in a lottery, his first priority was going back to school. The unemployed maintenance technician from Hamilton, who collected his $927,754 in mid-December, is not planning to splurge on fancy cars or exotic vacations. Now that he is rich, Miedus, 31, says that the main things he intends to do are invest his money, study computers and get a business degree. He attributes his sober attitude to the influence of the recession. "Education is the only way to get ahead," said Miedus, who already has a three-year industrial craftsman's certificate. "Now, I have a chance to better myself." In the anxiety-ridden spirit of the 1990s, it seems that even lottery winners are not taking any chances with their future.

Like Miedus, most Canadians have had their expectations about the future permanently altered by the recession that began three years ago. A year-end *Maclean's* canvass of economists, summarized below, indicated that there may be grounds for optimism in 1993, but their outlook is guarded. The good news is that all eight say that they expect that 1993 will be better than 1992, when one in every eight workers was unemployed by year's end. But they differed significantly about just how dramatic the improvement will be. And they cited as many reasons for concern about the coming year as reasons for optimism. Said Lloyd Atkinson, chief economist with the Bank of Montreal in Toronto: "We are in the midst of an economic technology revolution as profound as the Industrial Revolution." The bad news is that although the revolution, marked by computer and communications technology, which is turning the world into a single global market, is good for the economy, it is causing many people much pain.

Employment aside, the main reason the economists give for optimism in the coming year is beyond Canada's control. It is the recovery that appears to be gaining speed in the United States. Because the United States is by far Canada's largest customer, a recovery there will help Canadian exports.

But at least one economist says that an American upsurge might be a mixed blessing. "It is a double-edged sword," said George Pedersson, head of G. A. Pedersson & Associates Ltd. in Vancouver. The U.S. inflation rate is already twice as great as Canada's, while interest rates are significantly lower, so Canada could face increased pressure to raise interest rates in 1993 even though higher rates could push the economy back into a decline.

The eight economists did gaze into the future and see one major change coming in 1993. Although they usually confine their forecasting to economics, they did answer one question on politics. Most of the eight are expecting a minority federal government, led by the Liberals. But conventional wisdom says that when experts reach a consensus, the experts are likely to be wrong. Perhaps the safest forecast of all is that 1993 is certain to contain surprises, even for economists.

BRENDA DALGLISH

Maclean's asked eight of Canada's leading economists to predict the state of the economy in 1993. Their forecasts:

	Prime rate	Five-year mortgage/ GIC rates	Unemployment rate	Inflation rate	Canada's GDP growth	U.S.'s GDP growth	Cdn. dollar	Federal budget deficit 1993-1994	TSE	Federal election	Biggest danger on the economic horizon	Best reason for optimism
CURRENT	6.25%	9.25%/6.75%	11.8%	Oct. 1.7%	1.1%*	2.2%*	79 cents U.S.	$34.4 billion est.	3,3	Conservative		
Lloyd Atkinson Bank of Montreal Toronto	6.25	8.25/6.25	11.2	1.4	2.9	2.8	78 cents	$33 billion	3,4	Conservative minority	Federal and provincial debt/deficits	Lower interest rates and Canadian dollar
Ruth Getter Toronto-Dominion Bank Toronto	7.5	8.5/NA	11.5	2.5	3.1	3.0	78 cents	God knows!		Unspecified	Debt, debt, debt, debt, debt	Things couldn't possibly be any worse
Michael McCracken Informetrica Ottawa	6	7/5	10.8	2	3	3.5	80 cents	$31 billion	3,4	Liberal	John Crow's policies lead to high real interest rates for too long	Federal election and U.S. economic growth
Tim O'Neill Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, Halifax	6.5	7.25/5.5	10.7	2	3	4	81 cents	$29 billion	N	Liberal minority	High real interest rates/ counterproductive fiscal policy	Structural adjustment in Canada and U.S. recovery
George Pedersson G.A. Pedersson & Assoc. Vancouver	9.5	10.5/8.25	10.8	3.3	3.3	3.2	74 cents	$35 billion	3,4	Liberal majority	Crow overreacts to higher inflation/lower dollar and aborts recovery	Much lower dollar improves profits/confidence
Anthony Reinsch Canadian Energy Research Institute, Calgary	7	8.75/5.75	12.2	2	1.5	2	76 cents	$33.5 billion	3,4	Liberal minority	Election-based inflation/ deficit financing	Sun will rise
Gilles Soucy Le Mouvement des caisses Desjardins, Levis, Que.	7	8.75/6.75	11	2.4	3.4	2.8	81 cents	$32.5 billion	3,8 4,0	Liberal minority	Government reliance on foreign capital to fund debt	Restructuring will greatly improve productivity in coming years
Surinder Suri London Life Insurance Co. London, Ont.	7.25-7.50	9/7	11.6	1.6	2	2.5	81 cents	$30 billion	3,4	Liberal minority	Protectionism leads to deflation	Decline in short-term interest rates

*All forecasts are for the end of 1993 except for those marked with a *, which represents an average for the year

Business Notes

ON THE RIGHT TRACK

Canadian National Railways and CP Rail, a division of Canadian Pacific Ltd., both of Montreal, formed a special joint task force to study the possibility of rationalizing or merging their rail operations in Eastern Canada. As a preliminary measure, the two companies have established a joint partnership to own their respective tracks in the Ottawa Valley, with an eye to eliminating one of the parallel lines through the region. Both companies are losing money in their rail operations, especially in Eastern Canada.

A SOVEREIGN COLLAPSE

The federal government took control of Sovereign Life Insurance Co. after the Calgary-based firm suffered severe losses in its commercial-loan portfolio. The head office and 15 branches of Sovereign will remain open and it will continue to pay death and disability claims as well as certain retirement benefits.

COOPERANTS LAWSUIT FILED

A $10-million lawsuit was filed against three former executives of Coopérants Mutual Life Insurance Society of Montreal. According to documents filed by the Canadian Life and Health Insurance Compensation Corp. (CompCorp), the three withheld financial information that could have led to early intervention by provincial regulators. A report from the liquidators of Coopérants recently disclosed irregular accounting practices.

HELP WANTED

Struggling computer company International Business Machines Corp. of Armonk, N.Y., retained two retired executives as consultants to the chairman, John Akers. Paul Rizzo and Kaspar Cassini, both former vice-chairmen of IBM, will advise Akers in his global restructuring initiative. Shareholders, inspired by the recent ouster of General Motors Corp. chairman Robert Stempel, have threatened similar action against Akers.

A CRUDE PROPOSITION

The federal government is reviewing a proposal to bail out the $5.2-billion Hibernia oil megaproject in offshore Newfoundland. Ottawa, which has been attempting to interest Texaco Inc. of White Plains, N.Y., in the project, is reportedly considering taking a 12.5-per-cent stake in Hibernia for an initial investment of about $138 million. Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. of Calgary withdrew from the project in February and put its 25-per-cent interest on the block. Hibernia is not expected to produce oil before mid-1997.



IAN WILLEY/MACLEAN'S

Edward and Peter Bronfman: a promise to unwind the Edper corporate knot

A painful legacy

The Edper group struggles to simplify itself

The past year was a cruel one for the senior executives of the Edper corporate empire. As the economic recession continued to take its toll, the sprawling group of companies controlled by Peter and Edward Bronfman was under siege on almost every front. Even in the final weeks of 1992, Edper's problems ranged from Toronto-based Bramalea Inc.'s bankruptcy protection filing last week to a dramatic $1.3-billion write-down on the group's extensive real estate investments the previous week. At the same time, credit analysts at agencies in Canada and the United States downgraded the ratings for seven of the group's top companies. Those developments took place against a backdrop of steadily eroding share prices for core Edper companies. Meanwhile, belated attempts to address shareholders' concerns—and bolster share values—in more remote corners of the empire succeeded principally in bringing new problems to the surface.

For almost three years, senior Edper managers have repeated their intention to simplify the complex corporate structure of the group, combining assets to realize greater operating efficiencies and making Edper stocks easier to understand. A proposal in early December to consolidate the energy assets of resources conglomerate Noranda Inc. was one of the first steps in that direction. But the move to join Norcen Energy Resources Ltd. and North Canadian Oils Ltd., both of Calgary, illustrated that talking about such a massive restructuring effort is considerably easier—and cheaper—than achieving it.

Indeed, the obstacles now confronting Noranda in its bid to merge the two energy companies foreshadow a rocky road ahead. The Ontario Securities Commission requires an elaborate—and expensive—series of independent valuations and legal opinions for each transaction. As well, independent corporate directors, increasingly aware of their personal liability during such deals, are especially skittish. "The time has come for the empire to face reality and consolidate," said one investment banker, who requested anonymity. "Unfortunately for them, the regulators are waiting for them with new rules that make this process as painful as possible."

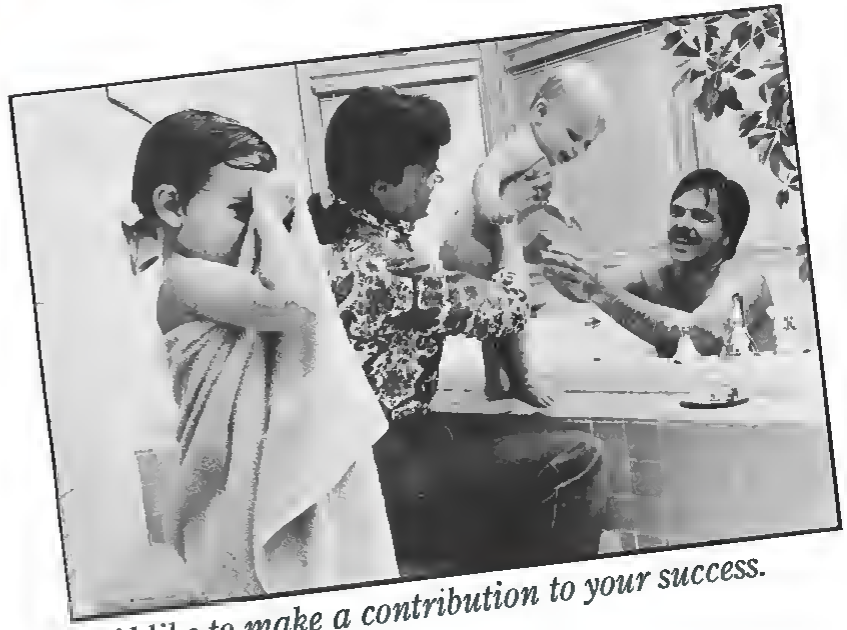
But one key issue has already come to symbolize the challenge of deconstructing the Edper edifice: the tangled cross-ownership of preferred shares that are issued by some group companies and owned by others. Under federal tax regulations, most preferred-share dividends flow to investors on a tax-free basis. Until the introduction of tax reform legislation in 1987, corporations also received tax-related benefits through the issue of preferred shares. Capitalizing on that market niche, a wide array of Edper affiliates issued about $5 billion in preferred shares starting in the mid-1970s.

Historically, one of the largest buyers of preferred shares were highly profitable financial institutions, which were able to shelter some of their earnings from tax through such investments. But Edper's preferred shares also allowed senior group managers to indulge a shared obsession for minimizing corporate tax bills by creating massive portfolios of so-called family preferred shares for the operating companies that they controlled. "It's a highly unusual practice for operating companies to have such extensive preferred-share holdings," said Montreal-based analyst Jacques Kavafian, who tracks Edper-controlled John Labatt Ltd. for Lévesque Beaubien Geoffrion Inc. He added: "Corporate managers should be running companies—not portfolios." Labatt's portfolio is currently valued at about $260 million. As the corporate architects of Edper now struggle to respond to market demand for restructuring, the pressure of coping with these intricately interlocked preferred shares has mounted. When Noranda announced that it would merge Norcen and North Canadian, the senior holding company also undertook to "assist" both companies in disposing of their Edper preferred shares. Norcen has a portfolio valued at about $250 million and North Canadian's is pegged at about $121 million. Said Barry Cochrane, president and chief executive officer of Norcen: "We know that our preferred holdings haven't been looked on favorably and it sure won't hurt the share price to sell them."

The challenge of disposing of the preferred shares held by the merging energy companies, however, will not be easy in the present market. Demand for preferred shares has already cooled significantly because the economic recession has meant that fewer Canadian companies are profitable, and they no longer require preferred shares to avoid tax. Concerns about the security of the dividends payable on Edper preferred shares have also compounded the problem of an oversaturated market, according to experts. "Everyone is already so stuffed with Edper paper, they can't swallow another bite," said one Toronto-based trader, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "They have to make their own market for the stuff."

Last week, the Series J preferred shares issued by Royal Trustco Ltd., with a $25 face value, dropped to $5 a share from $7 in a single block trade on the Toronto Stock Exchange. As well, in late November, the Toronto-Dominion Bank took a provision against its portfolio of preferred shares, many of them issued by Edper affiliates, which had declined by more than 25 per cent below book value. Said analyst Kavafian: "Labatt management always insists that its preferreds are transferable into cash. The question is, how long would it take to do that?" For the top managers of the embattled Edper group, that is just one of the many pressing questions they will have to confront in the coming year.

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The non-recovery that stumps the economists

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

We are so deep into the tunnel that, if there is a light at all, it is probably some poor guy, just as lost as we are, flashing an SOS

There's an apocryphal story making the rounds these days about the darkest days of the Cold War, when every Revolution Day the Soviet Union would show off its latest means of mass destruction by staging an elaborate military parade past the Kremlin. From a cement balcony, the country's leaders, awkwardly muffled against the cold, would take the salute, figuratively thumbing their noses at what then was a highly nervous, not as heavily armed Western coalition. On one of those occasions, long after the rows of tanks had rumbled by and the newest missiles had been towed before the reviewing stand—right at the tail end of the parade—there appeared an old car occupied by two middle-aged men in untidy suits, waving to the crowds.

Leonid Brezhnev, then in charge of things, turned to an aide and furiously demanded what the jalopy and its funky passengers were doing in his parade of deadly weapons. "They're economists, Mr. Chairman," was the hasty explanation. "You'd be suprised what damage *they* can do."

As the polling results in this issue indicate, Canadians agree with that harsh verdict on a much misunderstood profession. Never have we as a people been so worried about our economic future, or felt so frustrated by the inability of professional economists to explain exactly what's going on—or to predict what's going to happen next. And with good reason.

The terrible truth is that economists don't know. Canada—and the industrialized world, for that matter—have never found themselves in a fix quite like this before. There are no precedents from which to divine the future. Whenever some Statistics Canada index edges up a couple of tiny notches, baffled economists issue their standard message that at last there's "light at the end of the tunnel." The fact is we're so deep into the tunnel that, if there is a light at all, it's probably some poor guy, just as lost as we are, flashing an SOS.

Despite their inherent caution and stubborn assurances that we're not in a depression, economists do recognize some startling similarities between the Calamitous Nineties and the Dirty Thirties. Both decades were sobering-up periods from previous orgies of irresponsible spending and borrowing. In the 1920s, gullible investors bought swampy real estate in Florida; in the 1980s, even more gullible investors purchased highly leveraged office buildings in Toronto. Both decades were populated by high-flying gamblers who masqueraded as conservative businessmen. The 1920s had Ivar Kruger (the great match king who committed suicide when his empire collapsed), we had Robert Campeau and Paul Reichmann, whose financial manipulations turned their lust for power into an art form. Their demise, like the numerous millionaires who bit the dust in the Thirties, hurt many innocent people—not to mention bankers who suddenly discovered that their prized collateral had become worthless.

The Depression was also a time of mass unemployment and currency manipulations and devaluations. Already last year, central banks in Scandinavia, Spain, Portugal and Italy gave up their efforts to defend their domestic currencies—more countries are sure to follow that dismal lead in 1993, possibly including Canada. It was, of course, the advent of the Second World War that snapped the Western economy back to life after the Depression, but that was preceded by a recovery in property markets, as owner-occupied homes became all the rage.

The reason economists have so much trouble trying to figure out how we get out of the current recession is that it's so different from the seven others we've experienced since 1945. Most of the previous downturns were deliberately brought on by central bankers to dampen inflationary pressures and rebalance supply and demand. The postwar recessions lasted an average of 11.8 months and reversed themselves when low inventories led to renewed industrial production, while reduced interest rates prompted refreshed consumers to start spending again.

The current cycle (and it still is a cycle: there *will* be an upturn) was triggered by our inability—as a nation, as corporations and as individuals—to service the debt we had accumulated.

"To claim that this is not a depression because the statistics are not as horrendous as in the 1930s misses the point," insists Dominik Dlouhy, a leading Montreal-based investment strategist. "At that time, the public sector was very small whereas now governments have captured a large and growing percentage of the GDP, financed by ever higher taxes and borrowings. To claim that this is not a depression because unemployment, economic and human suffering are not as severe as in the 1930s is like saying that the Persian Gulf War was not a war because millions were not killed in the trenches as in the First World War."

Dlouhy and others have pointed out that the army of Canadian jobless is about the same size it was in the Depression (three million people), even if unemployment insurance and welfare payments have made their plight slightly more bearable, and that corporate profits as a percentage of GDP have collapsed to the same levels as 1932. Economists assign most of the blame to federal politicians for not even seriously trying to balance the budget. Canada's national debt first topped $100 billion in 1982. It has since doubled, and doubled again. Due to reach $500 billion at some point in 1993, that national burden is rapidly reaching unmanageable proportions.

Other than the standard remedy of inflating (or deflating) our way out of this muddle, Dlouhy suggests another approach in a thoughtful article in the June 26, 1992, edition of *Investors Digest*, the respected business biweekly. Dlouhy writes that we either call in the International Monetary Fund and let them run Canada for a while, or better still, we should float a conversion loan that would switch our debt into new bonds with 21st-century maturities bearing interest rates as low as 1½ or two per cent.

Whether or not a conversion loan or some other unconventional instrument is used to tame our national debt, 1993 will surely be the year Canadian politicians finally realize that the traditional policies and instruments no longer work.

PEOPLE

A SMALL WORLD

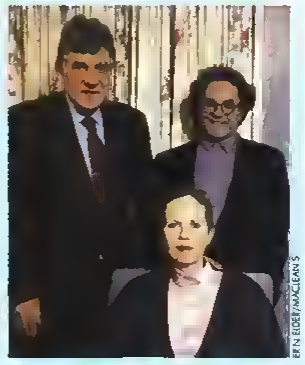
Singer-songwriter Tom Cochrane says that his 1989 visit to starvation-racked Mozambique made him realise "how small the world has become." That, he adds, led to his writing *Life Is a Highway*, a hit single from his *Life Is a Highway* album. In December, Cochrane relived that experience, flying into Baidoa, Somalia, with the aid group World Vision—on the same day that U.S. marines landed in the capitol, Mogadishu. "It's a grand experiment," Cochrane, 39, said of the deployment of U.S., Canadian and other troops in the war-and-famine-ravaged country. "It's possible that they have found a positive way to use troops—you just hope there's no ulterior motive."



Cochrane in Baidoa: 'It's a grand experiment'

Worth the wait

Three years ago, **George Miller** says, "I hadn't directed for a long time, and I thought that I wouldn't until I found something really compelling." Then, the Australian director found what he wanted in **Augusto** and **Michaela Odone**, a Washington couple who, without medical training, discovered a cure for adrenoleukodystrophy, a rare disease that afflicted their son, Lorenzo, in 1984. Now, their story is depicted in Miller's new film, *Lorenzo's Oil*—and the Odones are clearly pleased. Said Michaela Odone: "How would you feel if you had Van Dyck paint your portrait?"



BERN GIDEL/MACLEAN'S

Miller (right), the Odones: 'portrait'

THE SOCIAL PIONEERS

It is not unusual for consumer edvocate Ralph Nader to take on an issue that most Americans are unaware of. In 1965, he scandalized the auto industry with* Unsafe at Any Speed, *a scathing report on car safety. Now, in his latest book, he deals with another little-known topic south of the border. In* Canada Firsts, *Washington-based Nader, 58, details more than 150 Canadian achievements, from the first day-care centre in North America to Greenpeace and the board game Trivial Pursuit. Informing Americans about Canada, Nader said, is one way to inspire change in the United States. "Canada has been somewhat of a laboratory of social pioneering that reform groups in the United States have learned from," he added. "In other words, this is a nontrivial pursuit."



HANSON SYGAA/PUBLIPHOTO

A mini-series murder

Lawrencia (Bambi) Bembenek was released from a Wisconsin prison on Dec. 9 after serving 10 years for a crime she claims she did not commit—the 1981 murder of her then-husband's ex-wife. That ended a saga that saw Bembenek, a onetime Milwaukee police officer, escape to Canada in 1990, where she sought refugee status (unsuccessfully) in one of the most hotly contested—and widely publicized—cases in Canadian history. Now, Bembenek's Canadian connection continues. In February, Alliance Communications Corp. will begin filming *Woman on Trial* in Toronto, a four-hour mini-series based on Bembenek's book and starring **Tatum O'Neal**—the actress's first lead role since 1986, when she married tennis superstar **John McEnroe** (the couple recently separated). "That Tatum has not acted in a while is not a big issue for us," said executive producer **Robert Lantos**. He added: "She has the combination of physical and mental strength, married with incredible acting ability, that is needed to play this character. Bembenek has a strength of will, she never gives up, and Tatum O'Neal has what it takes to carry it off." As well, Lantos may have a job in store for Bembenek, who last week was awarded a BA in humanities from the University of Wisconsin. Alliance plans to use her as a consultant on the project.



O'Neal (left), Bembenek: 'strength of will'

WEATHER

Long-range outlook

Environment Canada tries 90-day forecasts

Shortly after Halloween each year, Brian Rode begins watching the skies and hoping for snow. Rode, the marketing manager at Ski Marmot Basin, a Rocky Mountain ski centre near the town of Jasper, Alta., says that the resort usually has enough snow to open by the first week in December. But this year, below-average snowfalls kept Marmot Basin closed until Dec. 23. Unusual winter weather hit other parts of the country as well, just as Environment Canada, responding to a demand for more weather information, has started issuing its first-ever 90-day national temperature forecasts. While Vancouver, which seldom receives much snow, was blanketed by 18 cm on Dec. 19, southern Quebec remained oddly free of snow before Christmas. In those circumstances, some Canadians whose livelihood depends on the weather greeted the new long-term forecasts with skepticism. Said Rode: "If somebody could really predict the weather perfectly in this country, that would be nothing short of miraculous."



HAYES/THE PROVINCE

Snowbound in British Columbia: beyond a few days, storm patterns are unpredictable

For the past 10 years, Environment Canada has produced 30-day forecasts that attempt to show whether temperatures in various parts of the country will be above or below long-term averages. Andrej Saulesleja, chief of the department's climate forecasting branch in Toronto, said that the 30-day and 90-day forecasts, of use mainly to farmers, fishermen and others whose work is influenced by weather conditions, do not attempt to predict any more than temperatures. Meteorologists are usually unable to anticipate individual storm or weather systems with any accuracy more than five to nine days in advance, he said, and previous attempts to forecast even rain or snow levels over 30-day periods have been unsuccessful. Added Saulesleja: "Forecasting weather becomes very difficult after five days. But we are attempting to forecast departures from normal temperatures."

Saulesleja said that the agency added the service because the unusually cool, wet summer in many parts of the country led to heightened public interest in the weather, and concerns that the winter might be unusually hard. According to Environment Canada's first 90-day forecast, covering December, January and February, that anxiety about a cold winter might be justified—depending on where Canadians live. It said that Alberta, Saskatchewan, much of Manitoba and the eastern Arctic would be in for below-average temperatures. But most of Central and Atlantic Canada, northern British Columbia, Yukon and the western half of the Northwest Territories could experience slightly higher-than-normal temperatures.

In their attempts to predict individual weather systems, meteorologists try to project the weather patterns that will result from observed temperatures, precipitation levels and air pressures on a specific day. But, according to Alain Caillet, a Toronto-based Environment Canada meteorologist, experts can never take precise account of all the myriad factors that may change weather patterns. As a result, he conceded, the further a meteorologist moves from observed values the greater the potential for inaccuracy in forecasting events such as thunderstorms or blizzards. Still, Saulesleja said that with sophisticated statistical analyses, meteorologists can produce 30-day forecasts of slight variations in average long-term temperatures. Such information is useful to, among others, farmers who are trying to decide when to seed crops or how much acreage to devote to certain crops, he said.

But Environment Canada is still pursuing its study of long-range climate patterns. According to Roger Street, chief of the department's climate change detection unit, it is testing theories that the earth's climate is warming because of the emission of manmade carbon dioxide and other so-called greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. Street said that studies have shown that temperatures across Canada have risen by an average of 1.3° C since 1895. Departmental research has also shown that in many parts of Canada, winters have become milder during the past decade.

Still, Canadian winters have not lost their capability to deliver nasty storms. And despite the use of sophisticated radar and satellite technology, winter weather forecasting remains a difficult art. Indeed, Environment Canada meteorologists noted with delight that they accurately predicted the major storm that lashed southern Ontario in mid-December. Senior climatologist David Phillips said that the storm, which dumped from 30 to 50 cm of snow on many parts of the province during a two-day period, began in Texas and took three days to reach Ontario. He said that meteorologists predicted heavy snowfalls as soon as they began tracking the storm, and their forecasts became more precise as the disturbance moved north. Added Phillips: "Our meteorologists were wringing their hands with glee after that one. They take an almost perverse pleasure in being right."

For many Canadians, the weather can be both a scourge and a source of fascination. Phillips said that the sheer size of the country ensures that a wide variety of weather conditions exists almost every day, particularly in the winter. Indeed, Environment Canada receives about 200,000 inquiries from the public each year about weather and climatic conditions. "For safety's sake, people need to know what's happening outside during the winter," he said. "In this country, most people can't go more than a couple of hours without a weather fix." Even reliable three-month forecasts are unlikely to cure that national fixation.

D'ARCY JENISH



MIKE PINDER

The Montgomerys: recovery is as testing as the battle to survive the Arctic cold

THE ARCTIC

Ordeal without end

A crash survivor tries to rebuild his life

It was perfect Arctic flying weather—clear and -20° C. From his window in the Canadian Forces C-130 Hercules, Master Seaman Douglas Montgomery, 33, could see the stars shining brilliantly in the polar night. On the flight deck, Capt. John Couch, 32, guided the aircraft into its final approach to the landing strip at Alert, the top-secret electronic-listening base on Ellesmere Island near the northernmost tip of Canada, just 500 miles from the North Pole. The seat-belt sign blinked on in the plane's dimly lit cargo hold, and the five crew members and 13 passengers prepared for landing. Then something went terribly wrong. Couch misjudged the runway's location, and the four-engine plane plowed into a snow-covered ridge about 20 km from Alert, killing five of those aboard. An object hurtling through the cabin fractured Montgomery's skull, knocking him unconscious. Only rarely during the next 36 hours, as a frantic rescue operation was under way to save 13 survivors, did Montgomery regain enough consciousness to understand the ordeal that he was to face—one that has still not ended.

The actions of Couch, who worked heroically to save his passengers' lives before he froze to death almost 30 hours after the crash on Oct. 30, 1991, have become the stuff of Arctic lore. A TV movie, *Ordeal in the Arctic*, starring Richard Chamberlain as Couch, is now being shot just north of Edmonton at CFB Namao. And a book about the crash, *Death and Deliverance*, by Ottawa writer Robert Mason Lee, published in July, quickly sold out in many stores across the country. But while the crash and rescue have become Canadian legend, another saga of courage and forbearance is still playing out: the survivors' struggle to rebuild their lives.

Some survivors, including Pte. William Vance of Ottawa, who temporarily lost his eyesight in the crash, and Lieut. Michael Moore of CFB Edmonton, whose face was badly burned, have recovered. But others, including Montgomery, an Armed Forces radio communications specialist from Ottawa, were not as fortunate. As a result of the frostbite that he suffered, Toronto doctors have had to amputate his fingers, and the toes on his right foot. In seven operations since November, 1991, they grafted three toes from his left foot onto the remains of his left hand. Only now is his life beginning to return to a kind of normalcy. On Feb. 18, he returned to work at the communications command in Ottawa, and in August he married Elizabeth Horobin, 30, who has seen him through his difficult recovery. Now, he and his wife say that they hope to buy a house soon and start a family. In a mid-December interview, Montgomery told *Maclean's* that one of his rare moments of lucidity at the crash site had prepared him for the worst. "I woke up at one point and saw that my fingers were frozen blocks of ice," he recalled. "I knew right then that I was going to lose my fingers."

Only a few hours before Montgomery had that horrifying insight, Couch had scrambled free of the shattered Hercules. He and other survivors moved Montgomery and other injured passengers into some shelter in the plane's severed tail section, where most of the survivors gathered as they waited 36 hours to be rescued. One of Montgomery's few memories of that period is of standing up in a delirium and announcing that he was going to walk to Alert. "But I got to the opening in the tail section," he added, "and then for some reason I turned around and came back."

As a fierce blizzard engulfed the crash site and Montgomery lay unconscious, hanging onto life, Horobin had just moved into his condominium apartment in Ottawa. They had become close after meeting three months earlier, and she had driven him to the Ottawa bus terminal to catch the fateful flight. As she now recalls: "Before he left, he told me, 'You better get out of here, or I am going to change my mind and decide to stay.'" Montgomery did leave, and the next day at 1:15 a.m., his sister telephoned Horobin to say that the Hercules had crashed. The following day, Montgomery called her from the U.S. airbase in Thule, Greenland, where some of the survivors had been taken. "An American padre held the phone," said Montgomery, "and I told Elizabeth I had a little frostbite."

But on Nov. 2, when Montgomery finally saw her husband-to-be at Ottawa's National Defence Medical Centre, she knew that it was much worse than that. His face and ears were blackened by fire and there was a deep gash on his arm. Bandages covered his hands and feet. For the next 18 days, surgeons studied the bones of Montgomery's useless hands and feet. Still, when the military told him that his job was safe, Montgomery said that he summoned up the courage to ask Horobin to marry him. She accepted his proposal.

But her anguish grew during the ensuing weeks. On Nov. 21, Montgomery was transferred to The Toronto Hospital, where plastic surgeon Dr. Ralph Manktelow took over. Said Montgomery: "Once they got in there and saw what was damaged, they amputated." He lost half the palm, the fingers and thumb as far as the first knuckle of his left hand, all the fingers on his right hand and all the toes on his right foot. Then on June 22, a team of surgeons attached two toes from his left foot to his left hand. And on Sept. 30, they grafted his big toe onto the stump of his left thumb.

Montgomery now has a prosthetic hook on his right hand and his left hand is about 30-percent functional. "I'm slower," he acknowledges, "but with one hook and a partial hand I can do anything I could before." Says Horobin, now Elizabeth Montgomery, "My husband did not let the physical changes take away his dignity. He is a hero in my eyes." For Montgomery and some others among the crash survivors, the fight to resume their lives has been at least as testing as their battle to survive in the Arctic cold.

TOM FENNELL



Too many teams, too few players

BY TRENT FRAYNE

Once, in the dark ages of television, your agent occupied a chair on a panel putting the usual penetrating questions to an expert guest ("Gee whiz, sir, do you think you'll win the Stanley Cup this year?") Thus was in the early 1950s when the National Hockey League had six teams and was considering adding a seventh, the Cleveland Barons. The guest this night was Conn Smythe, the curmudgeon who owned and operated the Toronto Maple Leafs. He rejected the idea of a seventh team.

"I'm dead-set against it," he growled. "There aren't enough good hockey players for the six teams now, never mind a seventh."

And so for nearly another 20 years only 120 players performed in the world's premier professional hockey league, a situation that disappeared finally in the summer of 1967 when the NHL expanded to 12 teams.

If he were around today, Smythe would be rendered apoplectic by the machinations of the current NHL owners. With three new franchises already tottering along on the fringes of respectability if not financial disaster (the Ottawa Senators, the Tampa Bay Lightning and the San Jose Sharks), the league's tallest foreheads suddenly decided to add two more. Their news conference in that celebrated mecca of hockey, Palm Beach, Fla., where for decades the NHL's governors have convened, in preference to, say, Viking, Alta., or Portage la Prairie, Man., in the middle of winter, featured a podium decorated with stuffed dolls of Mickey Mouse and Minnie Mouse holding a videotape of hockey highlights. This lunacy was inspired by the fact that one of the new franchises went to the Walt Disney Co. (what if it had gone to a condom manufacturer?)

"Our company has been involved in hockey through Goofy and our cartoons," said Disney chairman Michael Eisner. "We made a movie called *The Mighty Ducks*. It did $50 million box office. That was our market research."

And so, likely beginning next autumn, the two new teams, Anaheim and Miami, will be in

If he were around today, Conn Smythe would be rendered apoplectic by the machinations of the current NHL owners

operation. Thus, the league will have added five teams in three years, an additional 100 players, making 26 teams in all. That adds up to 520 players in a league where old Connie Smythe once felt 120 were stretching it a bit.

But, wait, don't touch that dial, the deepest thinkers may not be finished yet. Spotting a microphone in the hand of sportscaster Howard Berger at that Palm Beach meeting, Phil Esposito, the restless architect of the Tampa Bay Lightning, attacked the ears of listeners on a sports radio station that never sleeps, THE FAN 1430, in defenceless Toronto. Phil said that 26 teams weren't necessarily enough.

"I'd like to see 28," Phil proposed. "Make two leagues like in baseball. Then have a World Series like them, OK?"

Phil didn't outline, nor has anyone else on all of God's green footstool, where the talent will come from. Even now, in the relative quiet of 24 teams, there are gaping holes, not just with the newcomers in Ottawa, San Jose and even fiery Phil's surprising Lightning in Tampa Bay, but with the Hartford Whalers and, some say, the Winnipeg Jets, as well.

Nobody is exhibiting the absence of talent more than the Senators of Ottawa, a team setting new standards for incompetence each time the players pack their athletic supporters for a road trip. In their first 35 games, the Senators piled up three home victories and three home ties, and dropped 17 straight games on foreign ice where they were outscored 92 goals to 31.

Every one of the 35 games was witnessed by Roy MacGregor, who for 11 years had written a political column in *The Ottawa Citizen*, and who acceded to the heartless request of his masters that he switch from Parliament Hill to recording the exploits of the Senators during their first season.

"It's interesting," Roy noted, his eyes slightly unfocused, in a recent visit to Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens. "The team, of course, is terrible. Some of the guys should be playing with me on Thursday nights."

Roy agrees that the beleaguered coach, Rick Bowness, is engaged in unenviable employment. "The guys don't shoot very well," Roy observes. "Sometimes in practice Rick takes the goalie from the net and instructs the guys to shoot on the empty net. They hit it about 50 per cent of the time."

Meanwhile, the Maple Leafs, renamed from the St. Pats when Conn Smythe bought the franchise in 1927 and therefore 65 years more experienced than the current Senators, are having their own talent problems. The Leafs endured 18 years of front-office bumbling by the rambunctious Harold Ballard, tumbling from a pedestal they once almost shared with the Montreal Canadiens. They are still engaged in the tedious process of reassemblage by new owner Steve Stavro and his operations chief Cliff Fletcher.

Fletcher, who put together the Atlanta Flames and built a Stanley Cup winner when that franchise shifted to Calgary, does not share Esposito's vision of a World Series.

"The change of governments by the former Eastern Bloc countries, especially the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, provided enough good players to look after our current expansion program," Fletcher says. "There are more than 100 Europeans playing here now and all our teams have European scouts. But I really think we have to slow down further expansion."

Speaking of visions, there are those who see intercontinental hockey as a factor in broadening overseas player development, but Fletcher, who travels to Europe frequently, doesn't concur here, either. He says fan interest is low in the player-producing countries—Sweden, Russia, Czechoslovakia and Finland.

Why? Fletcher isn't sure but he has a fascinating theory. "The big ice. Hockey is technically better on the big European surfaces, but there's not 40 per cent of the excitement. Even at home, look at the Boston Garden, the Chicago Stadium and the Buffalo Aud. They have narrow centre zones, smaller than most rinks, and fan involvement is terrific."

So if Europe's big ice doesn't stimulate a broadening interest, where will the good players come from? Who knows? The supply was something that concerned Conn Smythe 40 years ago. Apparently the more things change, the more they are the same.



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FILMS

A holiday quartet

Four movies range from mystery to romance

LORENZO'S OIL
Directed by George Miller

It is an unusual kind of detective thriller, a suspense drama about love, obsession and a ruthless killer. But there is no sex, no violence—and no crime. *Lorenzo's Oil* is a medical mystery, and the killer in question is a rare disease known as Adrenoleukodystrophy (ALD). Nick Nolte and Susan Sarandon act out the real-life drama of Augusto and Michaela Odone, two Maryland parents who learned in 1984 that their five-year-old son, Lorenzo (Zack O'Malley Greenburg), had ALD, a then-incurable brain disease. Doctors gave their son about two years to live. Unfazed by official skepticism, the Odones took medical science into their own hands and embarked on an extraordinary quest for a cure. Harrowing, enthralling and uplifting, *Lorenzo's Oil* is not only the best of the new movies released in the last two weeks of 1992—it is one of the best of the year.

The Odones crack the mystery of their son's disease through sheer tenacity. Augusto is an Italian-born economist with the World Bank; Michaela is an Irish-American linguist. Neither has any scientific training, but they bury themselves in medical research and become self-taught experts in ALD. It is a hereditary disease, passed only from mothers to sons. Unchecked, the disease leads to nervous malfunctions, paralysis and eventually death. To the amazement of the medical establishment, the Odones finally discover a byproduct of common oils that inhibits the progress of ALD.

Nolte and Sarandon both act with conviction. Nolte's Italian accent takes some getting used to, but there is an endearing quality to his portrayal of Augusto's investigative zeal. As Michaela, Sarandon conveys the short-fused rage of a mother who cannot accept her son's death sentence. And as their benign but cautious doctor, Peter Ustinov personifies the blinkered wisdom of the medical profession.

Australian director and co-writer George Miller, best known for his *Mad Max* action movies, is himself a trained physician. He injects the movie with a fascinating wealth of scientific detail—clues that create an intrigue as engrossing as any murder mystery. Miller finds humor and horror in medical politics. And, with surgical resolve, he cuts to the emotional quick: the drama is heartrending. But although *Lorenzo's Oil* is a triple-hankie movie, it is not a downer, and the tears are good to the last drop.



MICHAEL O'NEIL

Nolte (left), O'Malley Greenburg, Sarandon: a heartrending mystery

HOFFA
Directed by Danny DeVito

The saga of James R. Hoffa certainly has the ingredients of a Hollywood epic. He started out as a working-class warrior in the 1930s, battling strikebreakers and police to win better wages and working conditions for truckers. He scrapped his way to the top of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and used brute force to make it the largest, and most persuasive, union in North America. He also sparred with the Kennedys and went to jail for doing business with the Mafia. After his release, he mysteriously disappeared from a restaurant parking lot in 1975, never to be seen again. With Jack Nicholson as the star and playwright David Mamet writing the script, *Hoffa* sounds unbeatable. But the movie is a major disappointment.

Danny DeVito co-stars with Nicholson as the fictional Bobby Ciaro, a trucker who becomes Hoffa's adoring lieutenant. Both on-screen and off, DeVito's attitude to Hoffa is abject hero-worship. His direction is bombastic, to say the least. And beneath the flash and trash of Mamet's scalding dialogue, the script is a garbled mess. Hoffa's wife, Josephine (Natalija Nogulich), is clumsily dropped into the action about halfway through, then just stands around for the rest of the movie.

The best thing about *Hoffa* is Nicholson. Instead of offering another satanic self-parody, he creates a credible character. But he is trapped in a dull, empty tragedy that makes a fetish of male working-class grit, the industrial-strength variety. And the movie makes an unconvincing case for Hoffa's heroism.

SCENT OF A WOMAN
Directed by Martin Brest

Al Pacino deserves it—the opportunity to indulge himself with a grandstanding role as a funny, irascible, bullying, oversexed crank. Jack Nicholson has been doing it for years. Now, Pacino, who has proved his brilliance on-screen in one crispily contained performance after another, finally gets his chance to pull out all the stops. In *Scent of a Woman*, he plays a blind man, a retired lieutenant-colonel named Frank who has delusions of grandeur and bears a massive grudge against the world. The movie is a lazy confection—long and slow and soft in the middle. But Pacino's performance is irresistible.

Frank is an embittered, self-destructive cynic with a vicious sense of humor. He worships women, or at least the *idea* of women, and lives off his past glories as a presidential aide. Charlie (Chris O'Donnell), an earnest prep-school student, is hired to take care of him for

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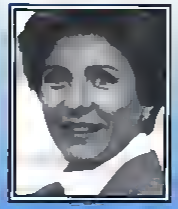
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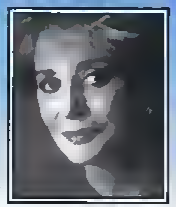
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FILMS

Thanksgiving. But Frank whisks him off to New York City for a luxury weekend at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. While Charlie frets about his precarious future as a scholarship student, Frank tries to carry out a two-step program of hedonism and suicide.

The drama comes down to a father-son exercise in mutual redemption. The innocent and the cynic join in the romantic defence of what Frank calls "the long grey line of American manhood." The story is preposterous, but buoyed up by a series of broadly entertaining scenes—including a showstopper in which Frank, guided by radar love, demonstrates his skill at the tango. In Pacino's considerable shadow, O'Donnell acts with striking sensitivity. Pacino, meanwhile, devours his role with such theatrical relish that *Scent of a Woman* remains tolerable even at its most cloying moments.

USED PEOPLE
Directed by Beeban Kidron

It is fitting that a movie with *Used People* for a title, and the psychically inclined Shirley MacLaine for a star, should seem strangely familiar. It must have been another movie (or two) in a past life. *Used People* is a whimsical comedy-drama about second chances, with a largely female cast that includes Kathy Bates and Jessica Tandy—which sounds a lot like *Fried Green Tomatoes*, the sleeper hit of last December's holiday season. Set in New York City, but filmed mostly in Toronto, *Used People* is a comic fable with sibling feuds, family dinners and an Italian-American accent, a romance under a Manhattan sky where the moon hits your eye like an extra-large pizza pie—shades of *Moonstruck* and the Christmas of 1987. *Used People* seems like a used movie, a hand-me-down quilt of stereotypes. But its derivative charm still works, offering the kind of crowd-kindling warmth that could make it the sleeper hit of this holiday season.

MacLaine portrays Pearl, a Jewish mother whose husband dies in 1969 after 37 years of marriage. At the funeral, she meets an Old World Italian named Joe (Marcello Mastroianni), an old friend of her husband Joe offers his condolences, then mortifies the mourners by asking the widow out for coffee. As Pearl's mother, Frieda (Jessica Tandy), puts it, "She got picked up at her own husband's funeral." The movie unfolds as a slow-fused courtship. While Joe woos Pearl with poetry and Italian cooking, she tries to resist.

Meanwhile, conflicts involving her two rival daughters come to a boil. As Bibby, Kathy Bates plays yet another frumpy woman with low self-esteem. Marcia Gay Harden portrays Norma, the pretty one. Unhinged by personal tragedy, she neglects her 12-year-old son, Swee' Pea (Matthew Brandon), and affects lunatic impersonations of celebrities ranging from Jackie Kennedy to Anne Bancroft.

Directing her first Hollywood movie, British film-maker Beeban Kidron draws spirited performances from her stars. Finally playing a character who is *not* an eccentric, MacLaine defies a contrived script with a solid, credible performance. *Used People* takes forever to get off the ground, then follows a predictable course. But in the end, like the vintage accordion that Joe teaches Swee' Pea to play, it squeezes some rich sentiments out of thin air.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



MacLaine (left), Mastroianni: a whimsical comedy-drama about second chances

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Lust for life

A spirited heroine reaches the small screen

THE DIVINERS
(CBC, Jan. 3, 8 p.m.)

Canadian author Margaret Laurence once described her writing as an attempt to "present the living individual on the printed page, in all his paradox and all his craziness." More than any of Laurence's 11 books of fiction, *The Diviners* (1974) achieves that goal. The fifth and final instalment of her Manawaka cycle of novels, named after a tiny fictional town in rural Manitoba, *The Diviners* presents one of Laurence's most passionate, complex and fascinating characters, Morag Gunn. For fans of the author, who died in 1987, the novel is especially intriguing because Morag, a spirited writer, is based in part on Laurence herself. Now, Toronto's Atlantis Films and Winnipeg-based Credo Group, in association with the CBC, have transformed *The Diviners* into a two-and-a-half-hour television special. Although it tries to tell too big a story in too little time, the movie is, on balance, an affecting, sensitive rendition of Laurence's work.



Smits (left), Jackson: a highly sexual relationship

"The river flowed both ways," writes Laurence in the opening line of *The Diviners*, setting the stage for the give-and-take between Morag (a slightly brittle Sonja Smits) and the many family members, friends and others who shape her life. In a strong, focused and often moving script, Vancouver writer Linda Svendsen brings those colorful people to life. Among the most memorable are her down-and-out adoptive parents Christie and Prin Logan (Wayne Robson and Diane Douglass), Royland (a likable Don Francks), a crusty, big-hearted neighbor who is blessed with the gift of divining water, Jules Tonnerre, Morag's itinerant, lifelong lover, played with a musky, rough-hewn charm by Tom Jackson, and Pique (Jennifer Podemski), the couple's troubled teenage daughter.

Like Laurence, Svendsen devotes considerable attention to Morag's intense and heady love affair with the Métis Jules. The program does not flinch from Laurence's depiction of their relationship as highly sexual—even when the two are barely out of childhood. In an early scene, 14-year-old Jules (Dakota House) recites a poem to 13-year-old Morag (Mairon Bennett), ending it with the lines, "When girls are 16/They should be f---ed." Rather than becoming angry, the young Morag responds with a protracted and passionate kiss, followed by an implied promise of more to come. "I'm not 16 yet," she tells her suitor. And, true to Laurence's work, Smits, under the direction of Anne Wheeler, portrays the adult Morag as utterly smitten with the joy of sex, offering up in one scene what must be the steamiest female orgasm ever shown on Canadian network television.

More than just a love story, *The Diviners* is a tale about the bitter effects of racism. Like Laurence, the film-makers pull no punches in their examination of how prejudice leaves its scars even on those who are not its direct victims. Although Morag has had firsthand experience of small-town bigotry and small-mindedness, she works hard to downplay the effects of intolerance on the man she loves—until she gives birth to a mixed-race daughter. "To my teachers in school, I'm the kid of that famous white woman writer," Pique screams to her mother in one particularly rivetting scene, "but to everyone else, I've escaped from a reserve or I'm a half-breed whore, a slut."

Laurence's novel begins in the 1970s and reaches back through the decades to the 1920s in a series of what she called "memory-bank movies" (quick, italicized flashbacks). To capture that temporal shift on film, director of photography Rene Ohashi and production designer John Blackie created a different color palette and film technique for each era of the story. Only the 1970s are done in a conventional format. Then, starting with a garish hand-tinted look for the 1960s, they gradually softened the colors with each decade, until Morag's early childhood appears as a faded, almost colorless memory. The result is a movie that is both easier to follow and visually sumptuous.

The small-screen *Diviners*' one fault is that it tries to cover too much of Laurence's complicated and elaborate tale in a single evening of prime-time TV. As a result, despite the inventive cinematography, it is occasionally difficult to keep track of all that transpires in Morag's eventful life, as though Laurence's carefully constructed novel is being played at a head-spinning fast-forward speed. But that is a small price to pay for such a thoroughgoing adaptation, and one that is, overwhelmingly, a fine and accomplished piece of television.

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BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

1 **The English Patient,** *Ondaatje (1)*
2 **Sabine's Notebook,** *Bantock (3)*
3 **Mostly Harmless,** *Adams (4)*
4 **Griffin & Sabine,** *Bantock (2)*
5 **Dolores Claiborne,** *King (6)*
6 **Good Bones,** *Atwood (5)*
7 **Angels and Insects,** *Byatt*
8 **The Tale of the Body Thief,** *Rice (7)*
9 **Terminal,** *Cook*
10 **Black Dogs,** *McEwan (10)*

NONFICTION

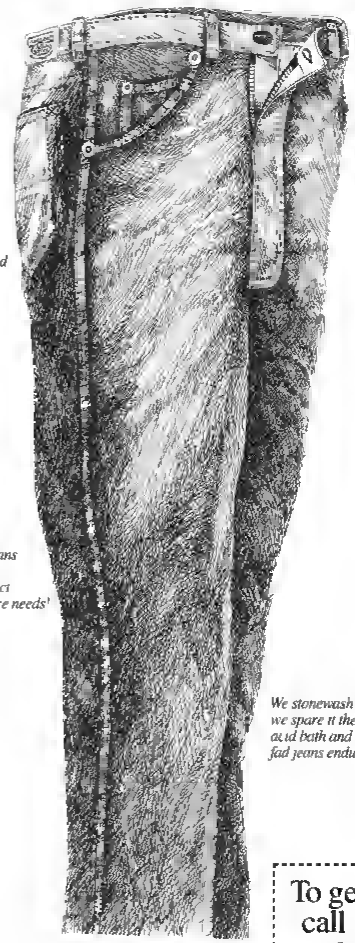
1 **Rare Ambition,** *Harris (3)*
2 **Every Living Thing,** *Herriot (2)*
3 **Welcome Home,** *McLean (1)*
4 **The Wives of Henry VIII,** *Fraser (8)*
5 **Death and Deliverance,** *Lee*
6 **The Mother Zone,** *Jackson (6)*
7 **Looking Around,** *Rykezynski (10)*
8 **The Story of Canada,** *Lunn, Moore and Daniel (4)*
9 **The Te of Piglet,** *Hoff (5)*
10 **Shifting Gears,** *Beck (7)*

() Position last week

Compiled by Brian Bethune

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COLUMN



An urgent call for a lot more *fun*

BY STEWART MacLEOD

For years now, politicians the world over have been accusing the media of being negative—carefree critics, totally devoid of positive proposals. It was one Spiro Agnew, a better-known American at the time, who crowned this criticism with caustic comment about the "nattering nabobs of negativism," or somesuch. Anyway, a big bunch of N-words.

So, it's time to be journalistically positive, to offer helpful suggestions to our beleaguered politicians who, according to one survey, rate just slightly ahead of used-car salesmen in the most-trusted category. The rating for journalists is...oh, to hell with it.

We must start by recognizing the fact that we have a political problem in this country, a big one. What we have learned, through a zillion public opinion polls, is that we're not infatuated with any of our political leaders and that, in varying degrees, we crave for a new cast of characters. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, we're told, is the most unpopular leader in the history of Canadian polling. Jean Chrétien and his Liberals, we're told, is simply the least disliked in an unlikable lot. The New Democrats' Audrey McLaughlin, and her followers, are in there somewhere.

The whole political process is in disrepute, the country's in anger. There hasn't been a giggle on Parliament Hill since 150 fiddlers turned up to protest the axing of *Don Messer's Jubilee*—except, perhaps, for that announcement about opening an immigration office in Vegreville, Alta.

What we need, rather desperately, is an infusion of new leaders, new followers and, above all, some political fun. We've had enough.

So how do we do it? Easy. Party officials get together and agree that, every four years, on the same weekend, in the same city, all will hold simultaneous leadership conventions. None of these feckless questions like "Do you favor a leadership review?" No, the real thing. We'll be the first country in the world to stage Political Olympics. Right off the bat, we solve the problem of leaders who don't want to be perceived as quitters. If they wanted to rerun, they could, but we'd be under no obligation to re-elect them. Anyone could enter, generally speaking, democracy works well in these cases.

A Political Olympics could feature stars we'd never normally see—right-wing opera singers, socialist sumo wrestlers, you name it

And think of the fun, not to mention the economic benefits. Imagine 10,000 delegates, all decked out in their team colors, Tory blue, Liberal red, NDP orange, Reform whatever, invading the host town, say, Corner Brook or Cranbrook. Why, there would even be Olympic villages springing up, along with rinks and other convention facilities to accommodate all official federal parties.

Since this would be an international first, there would be hundreds of television crews from around the world, hopping back and forth among the various Olympic sites. Obviously there would be acute competition among the parties to provide the best entertainment, thus bringing in stars and celebrities we'd never normally see. Right-wing opera singers, socialist sumo wrestlers, you name it.

There could be marvellous innovations—such as having Brian Mulroney appear at a Liberal "bearpit session," while Jean Chrétien tackled the Tories and Audrey McLaughlin tried to rattle the Reformers. The Bloc Québécois...well, we'll think of something.

Before the voting, there would be demonstrations galore, all in the true Olympic spirit. Marching bands would fill the streets, competing for attention, and prizes.

There could be off-convention betting, bringing in bountiful bucks. What are the odds of Sheila Copps defeating Pierre Berton? Or Marcel Masse knocking off David Suzuki? Or Bob White edging out Conrad Black?

Naturally, New Democratic Party candidates, following tradition, would be wired for sound. That way, TV viewers would not only learn what candidate those delegates favored, but who influenced them. It would also eliminate those inane questions about "just what was going through your mind as you walked to the polling booth?"

There would be extravagant opening and closing ceremonies, complete with torch lighting and torch dousing. The present leaders would almost certainly want to run the flame for the last mile or two. A free-for-all debate involving all leaders would be a closing feature. And think about the excitement when the Governor General, a reasonable choice for games commissioner, would announce the site for the next Political Olympics. Every town worth an official post office would be bidding for the honor.

Let's get semi-serious here and, at the very least, think about it—if for no other reason than replacing the traditional Grey Cup blowout with a Canadian event. The winners might even be invited to Rideau Hall, like the Toronto Blue Jays. That would constitute another new Canadian event.

You know, if this great Canadian caper ever gets off the ground, it could develop into a virtual epidemic of Olympic nationalism. The provinces wouldn't waste any time following the federal lead and, if money were to be made, would develop their own mini-Olympics. We'd soon have these sporting events springing up all over the country. Would-be leaders might welcome the opportunity to display their skills in other competitions, such as downhill bowling or constitutional Trivial Pursuit. Heaven knows that the provinces, like Ottawa, need light relief. And they've also been known to have problems with hanging-on-too-long leaders.

At the risk of offending most of Canada, let's suggest Toronto as the first site for the Political Olympics. Not only does that city suffer from a severe case of Olympian inferiority complex, from repeated rejections, but it also has that funny tower. We could not only have Brian Mulroney run up the stairs with the torch but, as you know, Jean Chrétien has been expressing an interest in bungee jumping, just to prove his physical fitness. What an opportunity!

As for Ms. McLaughlin, well, just as with the Bloc Québécois, we'll think of something.

Alian Fotheringham is on vacation.

Stewart MacLeod is Ottawa columnist for Thomson News Service

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